the Oxford Illustrated History of the

CRUSADES

JONATHAN HARRIS

THE OXFORD ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF

THE CRUSADES

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THE CRUSADES

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JONATHAN HARRIS

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In Memory of Jonathan Riley-Smith (1938–2016)

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Mark Whelan works at Queen Mary University of London. He has a particular interest in the later medieval crusades, especially the anti-Hussite and anti-Ottoman crusades of the fifteenth century, but has also published studies on bees and beekeeping, the mead and wax trade, and general ecclesiastical councils. He has held postdoctoral fellowships from the German Academic Exchange Service, the Prussian Cultural Foundation, and the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, and has previously worked at Royal Holloway, University of London, the University of Manchester, and King's College London.

CHRONOLOGY

1095	March: Council of Piacenza
	Nov.: Proclamation of the First Crusade at Clermont by Pope Urban II
1096	Jan.: Beginning of attacks on Jewish communities in Europe
	Aug: Arrival of Peter the Hermit at Constantinople
	Dec.: Arrival of Godfrey of Bouillon at Constantinople
1097	April: Arrival of Bohemond at Constantinople
	June: Capture of Nicaea
	July: Battle of Dorylaion
	Oct.: Beginning of siege of Antioch
1098	March: Takeover of Edessa by Baldwin of Boulogne
	June: Capture of Antioch and defeat of relieving army
1099	July: Fall of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon elected to rule
	Aug.: Defeat of Fatimid army at the battle of Ascalon
1101	Aug.–Sept.: Defeat of the final waves of the First Crusade in Asia Minor
	Dec.: Baldwin I crowned king of Jerusalem
1104	May: Turkish defeat of armies of Edessa and Antioch at Harran
1107	Oct.: Bohemond's attack on Byzantium
1108	Sept.: Treaty of Devol between Alexios I and Bohemond
1109	July: Capture of Tripoli
1110	May: Capture of Beirut by Baldwin I
1113	Feb.: First papal privilege for the Hospital of St John
1118	April: Baldwin II crowned king of Jerusalem
1119	June: Battle of the Field of Blood
1120	Foundation of the Knights Templar
1124	July: Venetian-Frankish conquest of Tyre
1129	Jan.: Recognition of the Templars by the Council of Troyes
1131	Aug.: Fulk and Melisende crowned rulers of Jerusalem
1143	Dec.: Coronation of Baldwin III of Jerusalem
1144	Dec.: Fall of Edessa to Zangi
1145	Dec.: Proclamation of the Second Crusade
1147	Sept. –Oct.: Second Crusade at Constantinople
1148	July: Withdrawal of Second Crusade from the siege of Damascus

1149 July: Consecration of the new Church of the Holy Sepulchre
1153 Aug.: Capture of Ascalon by Baldwin III
1154 April: Occupation of Damascus by Nur al-Din
1159 April: Emperor Manuel I at Antioch
1163 Feb.: Coronation of Amalric of Jerusalem
1164 Aug.: Bohemond III of Antioch captured at Harim
1169 Completion of the mosaic work at the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem
March: Nur al-Din's takeover of Egypt
Autumn: Joint campaign of Amalric and Byzantines against Egypt
1174 May: Death of Nur al-Din
July: Baldwin IV crowned king of Jerusalem
Nov.: Damascus taken by Saladin
1180 Sept.: Death of Emperor Manuel I
1185 Completion of William of Tyre's *History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*
1186 Sept.: Guy of Lusignan crowned king of Jerusalem
1187 July: Battle of Hattin
Oct.: Surrender of Jerusalem to Saladin
Oct.: Proclamation of the Third Crusade
1190 June: Death of Frederick Barbarossa in Asia Minor
1191 May: Richard I's conquest of Cyprus
July: Acre taken by Third Crusade
Sept.: Saladin defeated by Richard I at Arsuf
1192 April: Henry of Champagne crowned king of Jerusalem
Sept.: Treaty of Jaffa between Saladin and Richard I
1197 Sept.: German crusade to the Holy Land
1198 Foundation of the Teutonic Order
Jan.: Aimery of Lusignan crowned king of Jerusalem
Aug.: Proclamation of the Fourth Crusade
1199 Nov.: Proclamation of crusade against Markward of Anweiler
1204 April: Capture and sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade
May: Election of Baldwin of Flanders as emperor of Constantinople
1208 March: Proclamation of the Albigensian crusade
1209 July: Massacre at Béziers
1212 Summer: The Children's Crusade
1213 April: Proclamation of the Fifth Crusade
1218 May: Fifth Crusade at Damietta
1221 Aug.: Truce ends Fifth Crusade
1228 Nov.: Emperor Fredrick II in the Holy Land

1229 Feb.: Treaty of Jaffa, Jerusalem restored to Christians
1236 Dec.: Crusade preached for the Latin Empire of Constantinople
1239 Sept.: Arrival of the Barons' Crusade at Acre
1240 Dec.: Beginning of construction of castle of Saphet
1244 Aug.: Fall of Jerusalem to the Khwarizmian Turks
Oct.: Battle of La Forbie
1245 July: Frederick II declared deposed at the First Council of Lyon
1248 Aug.: Departure of Louis IX on his first crusade
1249 June: Capture of Damietta by Louis IX
1250 Feb.: Battle of Mansura
April: Mamluks come to power in Egypt
1251 April: First Shepherds' crusade
1256 Early: Outbreak of war of St Sabas between Venetians and Genoese in Acre
1258 Feb.: Mongol sack of Baghdad
1261 July: Byzantine recovery of Constantinople, end of the Latin Empire
1268 May: Mamluk conquest of Antioch
1270 Aug.: Death of Louis IX on his second crusade at Carthage
1271 April: Mamluk capture of Crac des Chevaliers
May: Prince Edward of England in the Holy Land
June: Mamluk capture of Montfort Castle
1274 May: Second Council of Lyon
1286 June: Kingdom of Jerusalem reunited with Cyprus under Henry II
1289 April: Mamluk conquest of Tripoli
1291 May: Mamluk conquest of Acre
1307 Oct.: Arrest of all Templars in France
1309 Teutonic order headquarters moved to Marienburg in Prussia
1312 Hospitaller order headquarters moved to Rhodes
March: Suppression of the Templars
1320 June: Second Shepherds' Crusade
1334 Sept.: Defeat of Turks at Adramyttion by Christian league
1344 Oct.: Capture of Smyrna by Christian league
1354 March: Ottoman conquest of Gallipoli
1365 Oct.: Capture of Alexandria by Peter I of Cyprus
1366 Aug.: Recapture of Gallipoli by Amadeo of Savoy
1383 May: Crusade of the bishop of Norwich in Flanders
1386 Feb.: Baptism of Jogailo, grand duke of Lithuania
1389 June: Ottoman defeat of Serbs at Kosovo
1390 July: Duke of Bourbon's crusade to Mahdia

1396 Sept.: Defeat of the Crusade of Nicopolis
1399 June: John Boucicaut's crusade to Constantinople
1402 July: Defeat of Ottomans at Ankara by Timur
1415 Aug.: Portuguese conquest of Ceuta
1420 March: First Hussite crusade
1439 July: Union of Orthodox and Catholic Churches at Florence
1444 Nov.: Defeat of the Crusade of Varna
1453 May: Ottoman conquest of Constantinople
Sept. Proclamation of crusade for the recovery of Constantinople
1456 July: Ottoman defeat at the siege of Belgrade
1459 June: Opening of Congress of Mantua
1480 July: Ottoman seizure of Otranto
Aug.: Defeat of Ottoman siege of Rhodes
1492 Jan.: Christian conquest of Granada
1500 June: Crusade preached against the Ottomans in support of Venice
1521 Aug.: Ottoman conquest of Belgrade
1526 Aug.: Ottoman defeat of Hungarians at Mohács
1529 Oct.: Lifting of Ottoman siege of Vienna

Introduction

JONATHAN HARRIS

UNLIKE most aspects of medieval culture, the crusades are today widely referred to, constructed, and discussed far beyond the confines of the academic world. They have regularly been used, for example, to symbolize any glorious and righteous enterprise. Hence the use of a crusader as the emblem of the British newspaper *The Daily Express*, supposedly representing a fearless pursuit of truth and justice, and President George W. Bush's announcement of a 'crusade' against terrorism in the wake of the 9/11 attacks in 2001. Other medieval phenomena, such as the Vikings and Robin Hood, have been put to much the same use but there is one way in which the crusades stand out: the polarized and contradictory positions within which they are, and always have been, understood. Alongside the cliché of the heroic enterprise, there has long been a parallel opinion that the crusades were a despicable exercise in violence and intolerance. Even in the eighteenth century, the French philosopher Voltaire could denounce the professed ideals of the crusaders as nothing more than a cover for 'the gratification of their predominant passion for plunder'. That perception has persisted. The gulf is particularly apparent in films. The silent movie *The Crusaders or Jerusalem Liberated*, directed by Enrico Guazzoni in 1918, was a literal retelling of the 1581 poem *La Gerusalemme liberata* by Torquato Tasso. It faithfully reproduced the sixteenth-century poet's largely fictional account of the capture of Jerusalem by the First Crusade in 1099, featuring a cruel 'infidel' king of Jerusalem oppressing Christians and demonic powers aiding the defenders by preventing the crusaders from cutting down trees to make siege engines. Nevertheless the Christians prevail gloriously in the end. The 2005 Hollywood epic, Ridley Scott's *Kingdom of Heaven*, by contrast, portrays most crusaders as bloodthirsty, Islamophobic fanatics. Its version of the run up to the battle of Hattin and the recovery of Jerusalem in 1187, stresses the sophistication and humanity of the Muslim side, with Saladin a noble champion of religious diversity who picks up a fallen cross and replaces it reverently on the altar.

Academic historians, of course, are distrustful of these simplistic and polarized views and have long avoided both glorifying and decrying the crusades, striving instead to examine them dispassionately as a phenomenon in human history. That was

certainly the approach of one of the most prominent crusade scholars, Jonathan Riley-Smith, whose lifelong conviction was that medieval crusading should be understood on its own ideological terms and not shoehorned into more recent preoccupations with economic determinism, clash of cultures, or proto-imperialism. The first *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, published under Riley-Smith's editorship in 1995, aimed to present in an accessible form developments in crusade historiography that had taken place since the 1950s and which often departed widely from popular perceptions. For example, while crusades are generally associated with Jerusalem and the Holy Land, campaigns in the Baltic and Spain were discussed as well. There was a much wider chronological scope, with the story being taken up to the eighteenth century. A chapter was devoted to the experience and reactions of Muslim Arabs and Turks. The intellectual and cultural aspects were covered: how contemporaries—whether propagandists, poets, or song writers—advocated and justified crusades, the motives and intellectual and emotional reactions of the participants, as well as the art and architecture that they left behind. The institutional developments that supported the expeditions were discussed, as were the ways in which later generations interpreted and reinterpreted them.

This new *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* is very much in the spirit of the original but it reflects advances and shifts that have occurred since 1995. Three of the contributors to the first book also feature in this one. Marcus Bull once again looks at the origins of the crusades and their roots in the consciousness of the penalties of sin in the afterlife, but his chapter travels along a very different route from the original, reflecting the development of his teaching in the interim. He shows how the preaching of the First Crusade was not just the Church's way of reconciling the aristocracy's preoccupation with both violence and piety but also an acceptance of the principle that warfare could sometimes be not only necessary but even praiseworthy. Jonathan Phillips reconsiders Latin settlement in the Eastern Mediterranean, but there is now much greater emphasis on the everyday economic practicalities that supported the population and on areas beyond the Holy Land such as Greece and Cyprus. Elizabeth Siberry again looks at how the crusades were viewed, depicted, used, and abused in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but she takes advantage of the huge strides that have been made in this field in the years since the publication of her original chapter in 1995. She includes a much wider range of examples, such as the article entitled 'Modern Crusades' that appeared in the popular British periodical *Saturday Review* in 1860. Its author claimed Napoleon III's intervention in the Lebanon, the Spanish attempt to conquer Morocco, and the rush of volunteers to protect Rome against the Italian nationalists were all contemporary crusades.

Most of the chapters are by new contributors. Nicholas Morton gives an overview of the first three crusades to the Holy Land, showing that they were not some purely European phenomenon that developed in isolation but the product of the geopolitical situation at the end of the eleventh century. Natasha Hodgson reveals the varied

experiences of women in relation to the crusade movement. She considers how female crusaders were perceived, exploring their motivations and activities, but also the broader impact of crusading on women's lives in the places where crusaders fought and settled. Her chapter intersects with themes in those by Morton, Phillips, and Cobb from a different gender angle. Steve Tibble focuses on the evolution of tactics and weapons during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the Latin settlers in the region sought to compensate for their lack of numbers and poor manoeuvrability on the field of battle compared to their Islamic opponents. Adrian Boas reveals the sheer number and variety of the fortifications that were put up to sustain the Latin presence in the Holy Land based on his own extensive experience of excavating in the region. Two chapters investigate the cultural impact. Lucy-Anne Hunt analyses some of the buildings and artworks that stood in the holy places and so gives an insight into the emotional and spiritual impact that they would have had on medieval visitors. This demonstrates both the richness of artistic production and its significance within everyday life in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and Cyprus. Far from being merely the vehicle of the reception of western artistic ideas, visual and material culture developed new forms of expression, forged out of the creative fusion between western and indigenous eastern artistic concepts, which proved widely influential. Marianne Ailes looks at the wealth of contemporary literature which was inspired by the crusades, written in the languages and dialects of medieval Europe as well as in Latin. These works are full of surprises, often lauding those who took the cross but sometimes questioning their sincerity; usually demonizing the Muslim foe, yet occasionally paying tribute to their chivalry.

There are chapters on the reactions of Muslims and Jews. Paul Cobb traces not only the military response of the Islamic world but the internal political impact, with resistance to Frankish invaders and later expansion at the expense of neighbouring Christian states providing a platform for Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman leaders. Rebecca Rist describes the massacres of Jews in the Rhineland that followed the preaching of the First Crusade and explores how crusaders often needed to borrow money from Jews to pay for crusading expeditions, as well as tracing how Jewish communities responded to crusader atrocities by seeing their sufferings as a trial of their faith. Nikolaos Chrissis and Jonathan Harris look at some of the Christians who were the targets of crusades, whether Albigensian 'heretics', Orthodox Byzantines and Rus', or Catholic Germans. Two chapters explore crusades that were launched long after the fall of Acre in 1291 in areas far from the Holy Land. Mike Carr recounts how plans to recover Jerusalem were shelved during the fourteenth century in favour of efforts to stem the westward expansion of the Ottoman Turks. Finally, Mark Whelan explores a wide variety of other theatres: Central and Eastern Europe, Spain, Africa, and, by the sixteenth century, the Americas.

The book that has emerged is, as it should be, a collection of very different, but hopefully complementary, viewpoints and perspectives. In bringing them together and seeing the volume through to publication, the editor and contributors enjoyed

unstinting support from Matthew Cotton, Luciana O'Flaherty, Emma Varley, and Tara Werger of Oxford University Press. An anonymous referee provided extremely thorough and helpful advice on the individual chapters and the book as a whole. Saraswathi Rajan and his colleagues at Straive India meticulously oversaw the production of the book. We would also like to express our appreciation to Paul Crawford and Chris Wright who were involved in the very early stages.

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CHAPTER 1

Origins

MARCUS BULL

One of the most compelling and illuminating historical sources to have survived from around the time of the First Crusade (1095–1101) is a narrative text known as the *Gesta Tancredi* ('The Deeds of Tancred') or simply as *Tancredus*. Its subject, Tancred, was, through his mother, a member of the Hauteville family, many members of which had migrated from their home in Normandy to Southern Italy and, over the course of the second half of the eleventh century, achieved political and military dominance over much of that region. The fitful but eventually successful conquest of Sicily at the expense of its Muslim lords between the early 1060s and early 1090s was spearheaded by the Hauteville clan and its networks of followers. Tancred himself, on his father's side descended from the Southern Italian aristocracy that had been forced to find ways of accommodating itself to its new Norman neighbours and masters, went on the First Crusade, during which he gained prominence as a particularly energetic and resourceful member of the second tier of powerful lords who led the expedition. Thereafter he made a career for himself in the Eastern Mediterranean within the patchwork of lordships and territories that emerged in the wake of the crusade, becoming prince of Galilee and acting as regent in Antioch for his close kinsman Bohemond during his long absences in captivity or back in Europe. It was in Antioch that a highly educated Norman cleric named Ralph of Caen, who had been closely linked to Bohemond before attaching himself to Tancred's service, began to assemble material for a book about his patron, in doing so drawing upon Tancred's personal recollections. He completed his work a few years after Tancred's death in 1112; the result of his efforts is an erudite and stylized but nonetheless unusually intimate pen portrait of someone who went on the First Crusade.

It is noteworthy that, after the rhetorically elaborate preface, which was typical of such texts in this period, Ralph's first substantive chapter does not dwell on the specific details of Tancred's early life before the First Crusade, which was preached when he was about 20. Ralph begins by emphasizing Tancred's maternal ancestry and consequent association with the achievements and glory of his Hauteville kinsmen, but then switches to a discussion of Tancred's personal merits, which had already, we are

informed, become evident in young adulthood. The picture that emerges is of a reflective individual who has nonetheless learned what it takes to succeed as a warrior and leader in a competitive world: a world in which one's reputation among one's peers is the most important social currency, and in which violence is an unavoidable corollary of success. This facility for meeting and exceeding his culture's expectations becomes, however, progressively more clouded as Tancred, who we are told was assiduously attentive to Christian precepts, wrestles with intractable ethical choices. As Ralph describes the dilemma that confronted his hero:

> Day after day his thoughtful mind was in turmoil, and he burned with anxiety all the more because he saw that the warfare that went with his position contradicted the Lord's commands. For the Lord enjoins that when a cheek is struck, the other one too should be offered to the striker, whereas the secular life of the soldier demands that not even one's relatives be spared. The Lord requires that one's tunic, and one's cloak as well, should be given to the man intending to take them away. But the imperatives of military life demand that a man who has been deprived of both these things should have whatever else remains taken from him. Thus, this incompatibility sapped the courage of the wise man whenever he had the opportunity for quiet reflection. (Chapter 1, author's translation)

The answer to Tancred's internal turmoil, the release of the dramatic tension and resolution of a personal crisis, comes in the form of the arrival of news of the crusade message preached by Pope Urban II. Ralph uses the powerful simile of someone awakened from sleep to capture the transformative effect on Tancred's state of mind and energies. No longer confronted with the choice between following the Gospel to its fullest extent, which would have amounted to his becoming a monk, or remaining in a morally compromised world, Tancred is granted a new lease of life by the prospect of serving Christ on crusade.

There is clearly an element of artifice in Ralph's version of events: he draws heavily on traditional Christian tropes of conversion to the religious life which see the world in terms of stark choices between good and bad. There is also present here, no doubt, a healthy dose of self-fashioning and self-justification on Tancred's part, the placing of an elevated slant upon the choices that his younger self had made. But for all these distortions, there nonetheless emerges from this 'staging' of Tancred's relief a clear sense that he and Ralph both firmly believed that the First Crusade had been a profoundly significant moment in recent history, and that, moreover, its importance had registered itself—at least to begin with—as a powerful resolution of the kind of moral dilemmas that preyed on people such as Tancred. Much of the crusade's impact, in other words, lay in its novelty: in the theologically bold formulation of a contemporary writer who wrote a history of the First Crusade, Guibert of Nogent, this was 'a new means to attain salvation'.

But what exactly was the remarkable message that, according to Ralph, so revised Tancred's sense of his place in the world? Modern scholarly discussion must confront the fact that, in some respects at any rate, the sources at our disposal are few and often difficult to harmonize. We have a handful of letters written by Urban II that address the

1. Pope Urban II consecrates the high altar of the church of the abbey of Cluny in Burgundy, France. This solemn event, three weeks before the Council of Clermont, marked Pope Urban II's return to his former institution, and was one of the ritual highlights of a nine-month tour of France during which the pope and others co-opted by him regularly preached the crusade message.

2. Stone relief of Simon Magus cast down by St Peter, Autun cathedral. The climax of an episode recounted in Acts 8:18–24: Simon Magus is damned for presuming to ask for the gift of the Holy Spirit. He gave his name to simony – the sale of ecclesiastical office – which was attacked by reformers as a way to limit lay influence over the Church. From this emphasis on detachment, however, there developed a renewed interest in examining those roles, such as crusading, that lay people could legitimately play in Christian society.

crusade, as well as versions, written several years after the fact and suffused with hindsight, of the set piece that formally launched the crusade, an outdoor sermon that Urban delivered to a crowd largely comprising clergy and monks at Clermont, in central France, on 27 November 1095. Crucially, we also have a significant number of charters, documents drawn up by monasteries and other religious institutions on behalf of wealthier crusaders as they made their arrangements before departure. In a significant number of cases, these documents include observations concerning the intending crusaders' motivations and their understanding of what it was that they were undertaking. Their remarks are mostly brief and allusive, and seldom aspire to the sort of psychological insight that Ralph brought to his picture of Tancred. Nonetheless, they cumulatively build up a picture of how the crusade message was understood at a grassroots level, especially as it was worked through in discussion between members of the two classes who, one might say, embodied Tancred's dilemma: the monks whose ranks Tancred would have had to join in order to live the life of the Gospel most fully had the crusade never been preached; and the lay aristocracy whose cultural conditioning and way of life he had convinced himself stood in the way of his salvation.

From these various sources, an outline of the principal strands of the crusade message takes shape. This was to be a war, participation in which could earn significant spiritual benefits up to and including accelerated entry to Heaven after death. Quite how these spiritual benefits—what are sometimes termed the indulgence, though the term is anachronistic when applied to this formative stage in crusade history—were conceived and expressed, and how the laity were meant to understand what was being offered, are not wholly clear. But every effort was made, within the limitations placed upon the preachers of the crusade by medieval technologies of communication and the fact that only a minority of people received the sort of religious instruction that would equip them to understand abstractions, to keep this offer of spiritual rewards within the bounds of the Church's familiar pastoral language and practices. That is to say, for all its novelty and power the crusade message was not *carte blanche* for the faithful to imagine that they could now dispense with the Church's prescriptions and to reinvent what they had been taught about the relationship between this world and the next. Yes, salvation could very possibly be facilitated by going on crusade, but it could not be guaranteed. It is true that the language of martyrdom—of immediate entry to Heaven upon death even if, or now especially if, engaged in acts of violence—quickly became part of the language swirling around the First Crusade (and would continue to do so in all subsequent crusades), and this may in some situations have encouraged a greater than normal heedlessness or bravado on the part of crusaders in moments of peril. This did not mean, however, that the crusaders were expected to be, or turned themselves into, a suicide army.

The war that Urban II proposed was to be of a very particular type, for it was to have the particular goal of liberation. Liberation had in recent decades become a buzzword

among those, of whom the pope was one, who were striving for what they saw as reform or renewal of the Church. The object of this liberation was to be both people—eastern Christians living under the political control of non-Christians—and places, in particular the Holy Land, more particularly the city of Jerusalem, and more specifically still the Holy Sepulchre, the tomb in which Christ's body had been laid between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. The very precise, goal-directed quality of the expedition, with its emphasis upon Jerusalem, meant that what was a military campaign would double up as a pilgrimage. It is important to note that attaching the idea of pilgrimage to the crusade idea was not merely by way of an analogy or metaphor to help people work through the novelty of what was being proposed. The pilgrimage dimension was of central importance because it supplied the framework through which the spiritual rewards on offer could be attached to the expedition. Additionally, in requiring that would-be crusaders express their commitment publicly and solemnly by means of a vow, much as departing pilgrims did, pilgrimage gave the Church a measure of control over the recruitment, screening, and disciplining of crusaders that it would not have been able to exercise had it simply initiated a holy war and then stepped away. Crusaders, like pilgrims, would for the duration of their journey become a kind of temporary professed religious, that is to say an approximation to monks or nuns. As such, they were expected to meet higher standards of devotional intensity and of self-denial, such as in their diet and their sexual behaviour, than their everyday norms. Not all crusaders were equal to such demands; we know, for example, that prostitutes were among the First Crusade's troop of camp followers. But the significance of treating the crusade as a species of pilgrimage, not simply a type of holy war over which some imprecise and impressionistic mood of religious fervour might hang, was that it gave the crusade vocation a hard-edged devotional shape and a well-defined sense of individual as well as collective purpose. It gave every participant a direct stake in what they were doing. It encouraged a feeling of ethical and cultural detachment on the part of those involved, a liminality which played out in the taking of the vow, the placing of a cross on one's clothes (which was one of Urban II's requirements), and other rituals of separation, and which was then expected to carry over into the conduct of the expedition.

Why would the spiritual rewards that Pope Urban and those others preaching the crusade offered have been so attractive to so many? We do not have an official record of the form of words that Urban promulgated at the Council of Clermont—the occasion of his famous crusade sermon—but we do have a note made by one of the bishops attending the council, the language of which is echoed in some of the pope's surviving letters. According to this note, the council agreed that 'whoever for devotion alone, not in the pursuit of honour [the Latin, *honor*, could refer to lands and lordships as well as prestige and recognition] or money, goes to Jerusalem in order to liberate the Church of God may substitute this journey for all penance'. Several of the key elements of the crusade message that we have already noted—liberation, pilgrimage, Jerusalem, a public espousal of high-minded motivation—are neatly compacted into this succinct formulation. But it is the substitution of penance which is the *quid pro quo* that clinches the deal.

3. Statue of St Faith (Foy) from the church of Conques, Aveyron, France. A celebrated majesty, or reliquary-statue, from an abbey in southern France that was a major pilgrimage centre. Representational objects such as this, far from being clerical or monastic concessions to the 'simple' laity, were a powerful focus of devotional enthusiasm for people from all walks of life.

To get a sense of what was at stake, there are few more revealing pieces of evidence than an incident reported by the Anglo-Norman chronicler Orderic Vitalis, writing in about 1130. Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History* is replete with anecdotes that shine an especially observant light on the religious and political culture of the later eleventh and earlier twelfth centuries, in other words the 'mood music' playing behind people's responses to the First Crusade. One such story concerns Walchelin, the priest of Saint-Aubin-de-Bonneval in Normandy, who, finding himself out in the open on a moonlit

night on 1 January 1091, comes upon an otherworldly apparition which he takes to be a ghostly procession of the dead known to local popular lore as Herlechin's Hunt. The procession that passes before Walchelin's eyes comprises various groups suffering for the sins they had committed in this life: those who had robbed and killed; women on horseback tormented by red-hot nails on their saddles; bishops, clergy, and monks, some of them formerly important and well-reputed figures; and aggressive knights mounted on huge, fiery horses. Although an air of mystery and menace hangs over the story, a narrative *tour de force*, on one point Orderic is very clear: notwithstanding the possible etymology of 'Herlechin', what Walchelin has stumbled upon is not Hell. It is, instead, one manifestation of or glimpse into a middle place between Heaven and Hell in which sinners are punished for the transgressions that they had committed during their lifetimes. In an important sense this middle place is not equidistant between Heaven and Hell, for it obviously more closely resembles the latter in terms of the sufferings that are inflicted there, in particular the extremes of heat and cold, the physical agonies visited on the body, and the assault on the senses, especially hearing and smell, that were familiar tropes in contemporary descriptions of what befell those condemned to eternal damnation. Nonetheless, there is one important difference: instead of the unmitigated and irremediable despair which results from the damned's awareness of their doom (in modern Catholic doctrine it is in fact this utter spiritual devastation rather than the physical punishments of Hell that tends to be emphasized), there is in the world of the Hunt some prospect of the mitigation of one's suffering and even eventual escape. This tantalizing element of hope manifests itself, not as patient resignation, but as a kind of frantic and febrile desperation accentuated by the fear of being forgotten by the world of the living. Walchelin encounters this mood in the person of William of Glos, a former steward of an important noble family who is being punished for passing unjust judgements and abusing his power over poor debtors. William pleads with Walchelin to find his wife and son and tell them to return the pledge to one particular debtor and his disinherited heirs whom he had egregiously exploited. When Walchelin demurs, William becomes extremely angry and grabs him by the throat.

By the time of the First Crusade, the idea that there was a middle place between Heaven and Hell had been part of Christian pastoral theology for centuries. Without an interim 'holding station', a place where the faithful—the great majority, who were neither saints, believed to have been received into Heaven as soon as they died, nor the especially wicked immediately consigned to Hell—could await the Last Judgement, the Church's prayers for the dead and its encouragement to the faithful to care about the souls of departed relatives would have been otiose. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries this notion of a middle place was fleshed out and would in due course become defined as the doctrine of Purgatory. Orderic makes explanatory remarks which show that he was alive to emerging ideas about the nature and purpose of this middle place: because Heaven is perfect and can therefore admit no imperfection, he observes, 'all unseemliness of which base humanity is guilty is burned away in

4. Detail of the tympanum of the church of Conques, Aveyron, France (bottom right): a knight in chain mail and his horse are cast down by two demons wielding pitchforks. Fear of the agonies of Hell underpinned the motivations of those who went on the First Crusade. The association between knight and horse was so close that the latter is here condemned to share its master's eternal fate!

purgatorial fire and the soul is purified by every kind of purgation'. This aside shows that Orderic's interest in recording the story of Walchelin's encounter with the Hunt did not derive from some proto-anthropological impulse to preserve a curious piece of folklore. Instead, Orderic works hard to integrate the world of the Hunt and the experiences and perceptions of the people in it into a framework of mainstream Christian belief about sin, death, and redemption. It is noteworthy that Orderic makes a point of emphasizing both Walchelin's youth and superior education in the emerging schools of Northern France, as if to remove any doubt as to his credentials as not only a reliable eyewitness but also an impeccably orthodox and well-informed observer. It is because Orderic approaches the story of the Hunt in this way, as a dramatic playing out, albeit in a rather unusual setting, of acceptable Christian belief, that it can tell us so much about the cultural and religious sensibilities that informed the understanding of the crusade message.

In this respect, what is most striking about Orderic's story is what might be termed its retributive literal-mindedness. There is little in the way of artful metaphor or indirection in the Hunt's assignment of punishments: people get what is clearly coming to them, pure and simple. Thus robbers are weighed down by examples of the livestock and goods that they had habitually plundered; the fact that the women in the procession are being punished in their private parts flows from the fact that they had indulged without restraint in 'seductions and obscene delights' (a typically

monastic moment of misogyny and suspicion of women's sexuality on Orderic's part); knights carry red-hot and burdensome arms; William of Glos must carry in his mouth a burning mill shaft which represents the property he had extorted from his poor debtor; another knight, Landric of Orbec, is caught in a Möbius Loop of his own mendacity, condemned to be punished for his dishonesty in this life by means of the mocking scepticism of his companions in the next. The only group which is not assigned a signature set of physical punishments is the clergy, perhaps for reasons of discretion on Orderic's part. The literalness of the scheme of punishments translates into the physicality of the world of the Hunt. Walchelin experiences excruciating pain when he tries to take hold of a horse's reins, and when William of Glos grabs hold of him he feels an intense burning; indeed, Orderic claims to have seen the scar on his face for himself some years later! There is an arithmetical quality to the prospects of those in the Hunt hoping for an improvement in their circumstances: when Walchelin meets his own brother, Robert, at the climax of the story, he is told that when he was first ordained as a priest and celebrated his first Mass, their father Ralph had escaped further punishment and the shield that contributed to Robert's suffering had fallen away from him, leaving a sword which Robert hopes to shed within a year. If Walchelin continues to help his brother with prayers and almsgiving, Robert affirms, he anticipates that he will be fully released from his torments 'one year from Palm Sunday'. Robert, in other words, had 462 days to hang on.

5. The abbey church of Vigeois, Corrèze, France. Monasteries such as this forged close connections with lay people, in particular members of the aristocracy. There is evidence that Vigeois was one of many monasteries that exploited those connections in encouraging crusade recruitment.

Orderic places the moral of the story in Robert's mouth: 'Living men should constantly have these things [the punishments that Walchelin has observed] in mind and should tremble and take heed not to incur such dire penalties for their sins.' This admonition, when read in conjunction with Robert's very precise and confident calculation about the amount of punishment that still awaited him, begs the question what the faithful could be expected to do in this life to forestall, or at least mitigate, the 'dire penalties' that awaited them in the next. The main answer was penance, punishments placed upon the sinner by the Church. Penances could take various forms. Pilgrimage, for example, could be enjoined as a penitential act: a stock story type found in many of the collections of miracles recorded at pilgrimage sites involved pilgrims wearing penitential shackles or manacles and wandering from church to church until eventually the chains break, a sign that their penance has been completed. More quotidian penances involved periods of sexual abstinence and fasting on bread and water; given the importance of eating as a collective activity in medieval culture, the sort of social isolation that fasting entailed added to the punishment, and is a reminder that the punitive force of penances did not simply reside in encouraging internal feelings of remorse on the part of the penitent—though that was meant to happen—but also in being exposed to the reproving gaze of others in what was predominantly a shame culture. Similarly, penitents were expected to desist from violence for the duration of their penances; for male members of the aristocracy, for whom their capacity for fighting was central to their individual and group self-image, this requirement made them unusually vulnerable, a weakness tantamount to emasculation.

Penance was central to Urban II's formulation of the crusade message, as we have seen. His boldest conceptual move in devising the crusade was to treat violence, in the form of participation in an expedition to liberate Jerusalem, not as an impediment to the penitential quality of the crusade-as-pilgrimage, but as an amplification of it. In this vision fighting would potentially have the same penitential benefits as, for example, fasting, almsgiving, or even prayer. But if warfare and penance were to be conjoined in this way, the question remained what penance contributed to the equation and what it was believed to achieve. Crudely, what was the point of penitential violence for the intending crusader in the context of the sorts of anxieties evidenced by Orderic's account of Herlechin's Hunt? Here the picture becomes a little murky, though the broad outlines of what Urban and others propagating the crusade message had in mind are reasonably clear. In the early Middle Ages, penances were considered, or at least had the theoretical capacity to be, 'satisfactory': that is to say, a given penance with a value of x_1 would nullify the consequences for the sinner of sin x_2. Documents known as penitentials were drawn up itemizing penitential tariffs against their corresponding sins. By around 1100, however, doubts were beginning to be raised about the efficacy and appropriateness of the tariff system, which it was argued risked reducing God's role in the saving of souls to nothing more than a kind of celestial bookkeeper keeping score of people's sins and penances. How, critics wondered, could mere mortals, puny wretches in the sight of an infinitely powerful deity, presume to dictate to God whether a given sinner should be saved? All miserable sinners could hope to do was throw

6. Chichester cathedral: relief of the raising of Lazarus. As the site of the events narrated in the Gospels, the Holy Land exercised a powerful hold on the imagination of medieval Europeans, and was the most ambitious and prestigious destination for pilgrims.

themselves on God's inexhaustible mercy, show willing by being truly contrite, and hope for the best.

This new sensibility was to have a long and successful future ahead of it: it underpinned the spirituality of the many new religious orders that emerged in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and in due course it became an important strand of the deeply affective, introspective lay religiosity that is characteristic of the late medieval period. In this new dispensation, penances were no longer satisfactory in the old sense; they were something more solemn and meaningful than a tokenistic gesture, to be sure, but ultimately they were simply an outward demonstration of the penitent's inner state of regret and desire for forgiveness, which are what did the real redemptive work. This point, however, had not been definitively reached by the time of the First Crusade. It is significant that Orderic Vitalis—whose account of Herlechin's Hunt is informed by a sense of tariff-like satisfaction for sin; how else would Walchelin's brother Robert be able to predict so precisely when he would finally be released from his punishment?—seems to have had a particularly clear understanding of Urban's crusade message. In his formulation the pope anticipated that the experience of going on the crusade would be so arduous, dangerous, and time consuming that it

would amount to a super-satisfactory penance that would in itself suffice to undo the backlog of people's penitential burdens. It is not difficult to appreciate the appeal of such an offer. It was virtually impossible to keep a full and accurate tally of all the sins one committed over the course of a lifetime. There were, moreover, bound to be sins of which one was unaware. People seldom revisited their sinful lives formally and publicly. Confession was not a routine part of Christian devotion in this period: more than a century after the First Crusade, in 1215, the great reforming Fourth Lateran Council would only set a bare minimum of confession once a year. Most people were probably in a position not unlike that of William of Glos caught up in Herlechin's Hunt, focusing their feelings of remorse and anxiety on one or more specific instances of reprehensible behaviour while also remaining mindful of underlying and recurrent patterns of sinfulness. Anything more precise than this was very difficult to recall, let alone carry around on one's conscience. The efficacy of Urban's message lay in the fact that, in drawing upon and amplifying the slightly old-fashioned idea of satisfactory penance, it cut the Gordian Knot.

The ambition behind the conceptual leap that had been taken to construe violence as a penitential act can be gauged by looking back only twenty-five years to a document connected to one of the other signature events of the eleventh century, the Norman Conquest of England. In 1070, four years into the Norman subjugation of their new kingdom, Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion (in modern-day Switzerland), acting as the representative of the pope, Alexander II, visited Normandy and prescribed a regime of penitential discipline for those who had taken part in the Conquest. It is important to emphasize that what Ermenfrid enacted was aimed at the winners, not those who were believed to have put them themselves in the wrong by resisting the invasion. Duke William of Normandy's campaign to gain the English crown had been wreathed in self-justificatory language. It had been endorsed by the Norman Church and probably by the pope himself. The rectitude of William's actions was extolled by writers such as William of Jumièges and William of Poitiers, and also in the Bayeux Tapestry, made a few years after Ermenfrid's visit: in these treatments William was wholly in the right in taking the English throne by force, and his rival, Harold II, was an illegitimate usurper fatally compromised by perjury. The decisive result of the Battle of Hastings, moreover, was interpreted as incontestable evidence of divine support for William's ambitions, in effect a trial by battle on an epic scale. But there was a catch. For all that those who fought on William's behalf were engaged in what was regarded as an unambiguously just war, they were not treated as simply the morally neutral instruments of William's dogged pursuit of his righteous cause. They were expected to bear some individual responsibility for their actions over the course of the Conquest; and this responsibility was to be acknowledged and publicized through the performance of penances.

Some of the penitential calculus set out in Ermenfrid's regulations, or ordinance, was fairly straightforward, especially for those for whom the business of killing was usually conducted face to face, or at least lance to torso. Those who took part in the 'great battle', Hastings of course, and had a good idea of how many opponents they had

7. Mounted knights, immediately before the beginning of the battle of Hastings, from the Bayeux Tapestry. By the time of the First Crusade, armoured knights on horseback formed the elite corps of western armies, just as they dominated economic and social life. It was to men of this sort that the crusade message was principally pitched.

killed, were to perform one year of penance for each of their victims, a significant punishment indicating the heavy burden of responsibility that was attached to the act of homicide even in a just setting. A religiously scrupulous Norman knight who had successfully thrust and hacked his way through the various phases of the battle, therefore, stood to have the course of his life fundamentally changed for many years. But things were not always so simple: those who had wounded opponents but had no way of knowing whether they had died as a result—this must have been the norm in the frantic, blood-soaked press of battle—were to perform forty days of penance for each victim; and those who had no way of knowing how many they had killed or wounded—the archers deployed on the Norman side were an obvious case in point—were to perform penance one day each week for the rest of their lives.

The interest of Ermenfrid's ordinance, however, resides not only in the fact that it understood something of the brutal messiness of what harming opponents in battle involved, but also that it appreciated that this same messiness spread out beyond Hastings in space and time, and was not limited to the effects of the conquerors' physical actions. It extended to their states of mind and motivations: thus, those who killed in the act of roaming the countryside in search of food—an action typical of medieval armies in motion—were to perform the standard penance of one year per man killed, whereas if their intention had been merely to seize plunder, the penitential load would be increased threefold. These distinctions may seem unrealistically

legalistic—surely, most soldiers ravaged villages and molested local people in search of food *and* plunder—but they at least reveal an interesting awareness of what we might call the psychology of participation in collective violence. This is especially evident in the most chilling of the ordinance's provisions, which enjoins penances on those guilty of rape and fornication—a distinction no doubt lost on many of the victims—'as if these sins had been committed in their own country'. That is to say, there was an understanding of the ways in which soldiers thrown into unfamiliar surroundings and confronted with unfamiliar people could easily tell themselves that it was acceptable to relax the ethical constraints that governed their day-to-day lives back home. The ordinance's strictures against those who had stolen from churches similarly point to an acknowledgement of the ways in which collective violence could act as a solvent of moral norms. What is particularly noteworthy in Ermenfrid's enactments, therefore, is its default presumption, a routine taking for granted, that, even in the context of what was considered an impeccably and demonstrably just war, those who had been on the right side of it were nonetheless not to be trusted, and certainly not to be given some kind of penitential pass. In this vision, warfare was, given human weakness, unavoidably the occasion for mass sinfulness, not a morally neutral activity, and certainly not a means of undoing the consequences of participants' sins.

Some of the provisions in Ermenfrid's penitential ordinance address the legal—one might almost say 'constitutional'—context in which the acts of violence at issue had occurred. A distinction was made for clerics and monks who had taken part in the campaign between those who had conducted themselves 'as in a public war', that is in obedience to Duke William and as agents of his legitimate authority, and those who had simply freelanced for personal gain. Similarly, the provision that differentiated between those searching out food and those indulging in plunder only applied to the period before William's coronation, on 25 December 1066. The implication was that as soon as William's royal authority was formally constituted, the distinction would cease to apply. If one committed homicide after William's consecration, this was now subject to the normal law of the land; an exception was made for killing those who were rebels against the king, but here again the key element was the restoration of legitimate royal power. The ordinance's sensitivity to the shifting operation of lawful authority as the Conquest progressed, in conjunction with its attention to participants' motivations and states of mind and its underlying assumption that Duke William's cause was just, shows that it was alive to the main terms of reference—authority, cause, and intention or purpose—which had governed Christian debates about the rectitude and moral loading of violence for centuries. The Church's attitudes towards violence, as developed by foundational thinkers such as St Augustine of Hippo, were based on the Christian west's dual intellectual foundations in Roman learning, in this context particularly Roman Law, and the Old and New Testaments. Roman Law supplied much of the apparatus for thinking about questions concerning the place of violence within the structures of public authority, and the sorts of circumstances that could be invoked as validation of it. Such questions run through much of Ermenfrid of Sion's penitential ordinance, for example. The Old and to some extent the New Testaments,

8. Castle of Peyrusse-le-Roc, Aveyron, France. Eleventh-century castles were usually simple towers, not the sprawling complexes of later centuries. But they already dominated most of the western European landscape, projecting the power and cultural assertiveness of the military aristocracy.

as glossed and explicated by generations of Christian intellectuals, supplied the moral case for violence.

There is an inaccurate but persistent notion that the Christian Church in its early centuries was wholly pacifistic, but was then corrupted by the violence embedded in the institutions and social structures of its host cultures, especially once Christianity was tolerated by the Roman emperor, Constantine I (306–337), and then to all intents and purposes made the state religion of the empire by Theodosius I (379–395). The Old

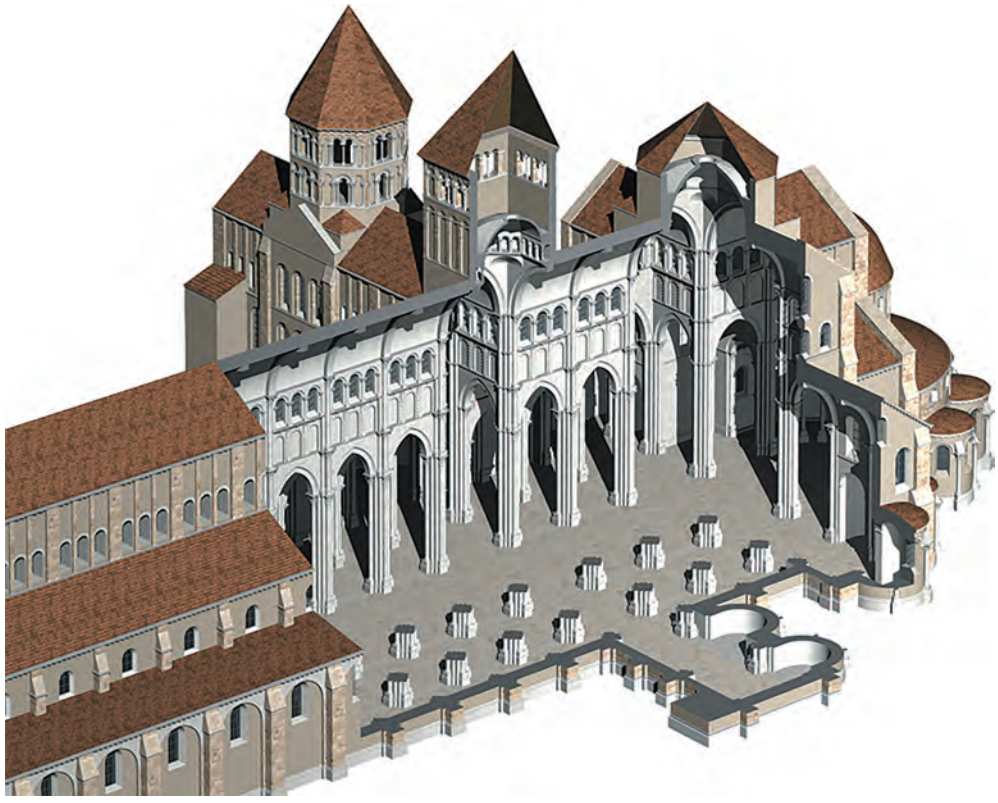
Testament, which medieval Christians believed to be an indisputable historical record whatever other interpretations could be placed upon it, was full of stories of the 'God of Battles' waging righteous war through the chosen people of Israel. Although less bellicose, the Gospels also contained suggestive passages: when, for example, one read that Christ commanded Peter in the Garden of Gethsemane to return his sword to its scabbard, the question became why Peter—who more than any other Apostle was regarded as the embodiment and symbol of the Church that Christ instituted—was carrying a sword in the first place, and why Christ had implicitly tolerated his carrying it up to that point. Over the course of the early medieval period the Church developed a repertoire of accommodations to violence that ranged from qualified but not wholly reluctant acceptance to enthusiastic endorsement. Kings and other rulers were blessed when departing on campaign. Prayers were offered for success in war. Combatants were blessed, occasionally in terms which nudged close to the language of the remission of sins which would resurface in crusade discourse. Benedictionals, collections of formulae for the priestly benediction of everyday objects and activities, included blessings said over the instruments of violence, in particular swords. What typically held the Church back from the sort of full-throttled embrace of meritorious violence that one sees in the First Crusade were two areas of ambivalence. The first was the sort of nagging misgivings about soldiers' states of mind that one sees running through the penitential ordinance of 1070. In the final analysis, could a fighting man, even one engaged in a war authorized by a legitimate public authority and conducted in pursuit of an indisputably just cause, be trusted to be free of sin in the very act of, say, driving a sword into an opponent's body? Did the visceral emotions whipped up by brutal, face-to-face combat—which in many instances probably took the form of an affected, intentional posture grounded in years of training and cultural conditioning at least as much as it was an expression of spontaneous rage and fear in the moment—leave room for detached and cool ethical self-examination? The second source of doubt concerned the kings and other lay rulers who authorized violence. Could they be wholly trusted to disentangle questions of just cause from personal grievances and ambitions? William the Conqueror is conspicuously absent from Ermenfrid's ordinance, but we know that he founded Battle Abbey at the site of Harold's defeat to atone for his role in the bloodshed.

The First Crusade resolved these two doubts at a stroke because the Church, and specifically the papacy, now claimed for itself the legitimizing authority hitherto ascribed to secular rulers, especially kings. The confidence that enabled Urban II to make this bold move was, in a sense, the culmination of a remarkable period of change in the Western European Church over the previous fifty years, driven by progressive forces that wished to see the Church, unavoidably enmeshed in an imperfect world, make the best of a bad job by approximating ever more closely to what was believed to be its foundational ideology. The Church was believed to be 'apostolic', which is to say that it was conceived as the inevitable, pre-programmed articulation of God's providential scheme for humankind, as Christ had communicated this divine mandate to his

Apostles and in turn to succeeding generations of clergy. In this view, the Church was not what would now be termed a 'gathered' congregation, a result of human initiative or simply organic cultural and institutional evolution. There were various strands of the reformist impulse in eleventh-century Europe. One of the most important was dissatisfaction with the widespread practice of lay ownership of churches and their assets; this went hand in hand with a marked growth of monasticism, for monasteries were often the recipients of churches that aristocratic families, attentive to the new mood, wished to relinquish. Another strand attended to the powers claimed by many lay people, up to and including kings, to make appointments to ecclesiastical offices. A further problem that particularly exercised reformers was widespread clerical marriage, for this was believed to compromise the clergy's ritual purity and consequently its ability to perform its sacramental, liturgical, and pastoral roles.

These various ideas were in themselves not new in the second half of the eleventh century; what gave them unusual cumulative force at this time was the fact that they were brought together into a single programme in which—quite unusually in the overall trajectory of its long history—the papacy positioned itself as the principal driver of reform. A fundamentally important element of what is sometimes referred to as the 'Gregorian Reform', after its single most vigorous and visible exponent Pope Gregory VII (1073–85), was that it attended to organization as well as ideas. A stream of letters from popes and their supporters, councils in which regional groups of clergy were briefed on best practice and coordinated their efforts, and papal emissaries, or legates, sent out to promote reform and discipline the recalcitrant, all helped to spread the message. Bishop Ermenfrid's mission to Normandy as the representative of Pope Alexander II was a quite early instance of this new, centralizing reach. In addition to formal organization, the reformers were great networkers: here monasteries seem to have played a particularly significant role, and it therefore comes as little surprise to learn that earlier in his career Urban II had been a monk of Cluny, the most prestigious abbey in Western Christendom, rising to the position of grand prior, or second in command. Monastic communities, moreover, were to prove one of the most important nodal points of crusade recruitment during an extended tour of France that Urban made between 1095 and 1096. It may seem tautologous or redundant to say so, but on a very basic level the papacy devised the idea of the crusade simply because, empowered by the newly joined-up quality of its ideological and structural armature, for the first time it could.

In this the papacy was aided by a kind of moral and political power vacuum in much of Western Europe in the mid-1090s, especially at the level of kingship, the traditional apex of political, social, and ideological power structures in this world. The German king-emperor, Henry IV, was a vigorous opponent of the papacy, excoriated by his reformist opponents; Philip I of France had a chequered history with the Church, and around the time of the preaching of the crusade would be excommunicated as punishment for his injudicious marital adventures; William Rufus of England was powerful but, rightly or wrongly, was acquiring an especially lurid reputation among clerical moralists; the Christian kings of the Iberian peninsula were lesser figures and in



9. Digital reconstruction of the church of the abbey of Cluny, Burgundy, France. Under construction at the time of the First Crusade, Cluny's church (known as Cluny III) was the largest in western Christendom, an indication of that abbey's enormous wealth and prestige, and, more generally, of the potency of monastic ideals.

any event had their own local wars against Muslims to prosecute. In such circumstances, Urban II, taking his cue from a timely appeal from the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Komnenos, for his aid in recruiting western help against the Turks who threatened his domains, had a window of opportunity to make a bold move in shifting away from the Church's time-honoured role of endorsing and supporting wars instigated and prosecuted by secular powers, particularly kings. In the past the many antecedents to be found in the Old Testament, the power and inertia of tradition, and the rituals of royal consecration had situated kings more centrally than other lay people within God's salvific scheme. Now kings would be bypassed—they would in subsequent decades manage to insert themselves into crusading thought and practice, but that was not anticipated at this stage—and it would be the pope who laid claim to the authority to initiate a war.

In a sense the Church's embrace of the idea of positive violence that made the crusade possible was a case of catching up with attitudes that were deeply sedimented in several sections of lay society. A remarkable illustration of what was at stake is found in a notice, or memorandum of a property transaction, written at some time in the two or

10. The abbey church of Sorde-l'abbaye, Landes, France. When Arnold Sancho sought the support of Sorde in his vendetta against William Malfara, he was exploiting the monks' willingness to make moral distinctions between different acts of bloodshed—precisely the sort of 'parsing' of violence that made the crusade possible.

three decades around 1100 in the Gascon abbey of Sorde, in the far south-western corner of France in the approaches to the Pyrenees. This document narrates how a warrior named Arnold Sancho felt compelled to fight against William Malfara, who had betrayed his brother, Fort Sancho, and killed him in the castle of Aspremont. Arnold Sancho came to pray at the monastery of St John at Sorde. He donated various properties to the monks in the hope that God would deliver up the traitor to him. He then tracked down William Malfara and subjected him to a horrible dismemberment, part calculated ritual, part animal rage: he cut off his hands, the tips of his nose and tongue, and his testicles. Then Arnold Sancho took his spoils, namely William Malfara's chainmail hauberk, sword, helmet, iron leggings, and spurs, and gave them as an offering to St John—quite possibly depositing them on Sorde's high altar. Two facets of the moral economy informing this grisly episode are particularly striking, at least in the terms in which it is narrated, which may possibly mask a more ambiguous balance of rights and wrongs in actuality. One is Arnold Sancho's obvious conviction that he was in the right in hunting down his brother's murderer: the Latin that expresses his desire to pursue William Malfara carries the sense of compulsion, as if there were no feasible ethical alternative to his engaging in extreme violence. Moreover, Arnold

Sancho seeks out the most conspicuous source of moral validation in his locality, St John, who would have been conceived as the owner and lord of the monastery of Sorde; and he does so not once but twice, on both occasions, it is implied, in the full expectation that the saint and his monks would not just approve of his actions but also take his part. Although the terse Latin of the notice does not allow its scribe to expatiate on his institution's attitudes as the vengeful drama was played out, the fact that Sorde accepted the properties that Arnold Sancho donated—including allods, which were particularly valuable assets as unencumbered freeholds—suggests that it was perfectly happy to lend him its support. This is further implied by the language of betrayal used to characterize William Malfara's actions, which must capture the terms in which Arnold Sancho justified himself to the monks; and also by the fact that Sorde readily received the offering of the spoils, which, quite apart from their symbolic value as stark evidence of St John's support for Arnold Sancho's cause, represented a substantial gift of what was in effect a semi-precious metal.

Terse and compact though it is, this notice written by the monks of Sorde perhaps gets us as close to the cultural assumptions and values that informed enthusiasm for the First Crusade as any document from this time. It might be tempting to suppose that this incident was atypical, a moment of excess played out in a remote, perhaps Basque-speaking region that was detached from the norms of 'mainstream' western culture. But this would be mistaken. Sorde was an important religious site which not only lay on the Gave d'Oloron, a major artery of communication, but was also on one of the pilgrimage routes that brought pilgrims down to and through the Pyrenees en route to Santiago de Compostela, which was emerging as one of the principal pilgrimage centres in the western Christian tradition alongside Jerusalem and Rome. Indeed, the westerly branch of the pilgrimage route on which Sorde lay, which took pilgrims from places such as Saint-Denis, Paris, Blois, Chartres, and Tours, and thence south through Poitiers and Bordeaux (via a number of major monasteries en route), was probably the most travelled of the four main pilgrimage roads to Compostela. Moreover, Aspremont, the site of William Malfara's murder of Fort Sancho, was not some remote bandit lair but, probably, a possession of the viscounts of Orthe, a powerful local family who claimed descent from the dukes of Gascony. The Sorde notice is unusual in the way in which its candour opens a window onto a world of violence that few other contemporary documents address so squarely, but the behaviours and attitudes that it captures were by no means aberrant.

The microhistorical drama played out in the Sorde document evokes a world of unmistakably elite violence. The notice makes reference to the two principal markers of aristocratic culture as it had evolved over the last hundred or so years, particularly in France, Western and Southern Germany, and Northern Italy—the former core of the Carolingian Empire, which had fragmented over the course of the ninth and tenth centuries—but also increasingly in those areas, such as the British Isles after the Norman Conquest and Southern Italy, into which 'Frankish' social structures and cultural norms were expanding. The first of these markers is the castle as the nexus

par excellence of elite military, political, economic, and dynastic power. Castles, at this stage mostly quite simple stone towers, had come to dominate most of the Western European landscape over the course of the eleventh century; initially they had been symptoms of political fragmentation and social dislocation, but in the decades leading up to the First Crusade they were functioning more and more as confident expressions of aristocratic cultural assertiveness. The second is the figure of the knight as society's specialist in violence; the armour that Arnold Sancho deposits at Sorde is not that of any warrior, but specifically the accoutrement of someone who moved around and fought on horseback, and whose self-image would have been intimately bound up in his equestrian skills. One might also point to two further indications of the social and cultural milieu evoked by the notice: the importance of family identity suggested by Arnold Sancho's reaction to his brother's death; and the fact that the near-ritualistic violence visited on William Malfara's body was symbolically freighted, designed to render him unable to father children and bear arms, and beyond that to shame and emasculate him in the eyes of his peers. Whether he lived or died as result of his injuries was incidental.

But was the crusade message specifically for, and in a sense *about*, men like Arnold Sancho and William Malfara? Here the Church was caught on the horns of a dilemma created by its own imaginative synthesis of violence and pilgrimage. In making the crusade message a pastoral matter, the Church could not in good conscience discriminate on the basis of sex, age, or profession: every Christian had a soul to be saved. Pilgrimage, in particular, was a devotional and penitential activity that blurred social divisions: although travel was expensive, which would have meant that the aristocratic minority was overrepresented on middle- and long-range journeys, the evidence of *miracula*, collections of miracle stories recorded at many pilgrimage churches throughout Europe, reveals that people of all classes and walks of life, down to the most marginal and disadvantaged, could be enthusiastic pilgrims. Although some of the stories found in *miracula* reveal that people's religious priorities were sometimes inflected by their social status and circumstances—such as knights giving thanks for recovery from wounds received in battle, or aristocratic parents praying for the birth of a male heir—pilgrimage was the nearest thing to a shared cultural experience in the otherwise highly stratified society of medieval Europe. According to Fulcher of Chartres, one of the chroniclers of the First Crusade, Urban II acknowledged this fact in his sermon at Clermont when he instructed his largely clerical audience to preach the cross to 'everyone of no matter what class, be he knight or foot soldier, rich or poor'. Popular preachers of the crusade such as Peter the Hermit were able to tap into an appetite for religious expression, channelled through pilgrimage and calls to penitence, among many of the urban and rural poor; Peter's success in gathering around him a large group of followers in the early months of 1096, ahead of the 'official' crusaders, points to the groundswell of popular religious enthusiasm that the crusade appeal part created and part unleashed.

In addition to the socially inclusive appeal of pilgrimage, there was the important practical point that an army made up only of Tancreds and Arnold Sanchos would have been quite impossible. Over the course of the century following the First Crusade there developed a fantasy literature, chivalric romance, in which one of the recurrent plot elements involves a worthy and solitary knight travelling great distances on his own. But the image of the knight errant, alone and self-sufficient, was appealing precisely because it embodied a fantasy of male aristocratic self-reliance and personal autonomy that was wholly unattainable in reality. In the real world Lancelot or Gawain would not have got more than a few miles before they would have needed the assistance of a large support team of servants, grooms, cooks, armourers, and laundresses. When their horse shed a shoe, which it was bound to do sooner rather than later, their very mobility would be dependent on the services of a smith. Medieval armies, especially those like crusade armies thrown onto their own resources and operating away from home for long periods, had to come close to being a cross-section of society—at least the 'service industry' element of that society—in order to function at all. We also know that crusade armies expanded for reasons beyond the practical needs of the aristocratic element at their core. Ties of patronage and clientage also influenced recruitment. There is evidence of knots of crusade enthusiasm forming within *mouvances*, tight networks of lords and vassals. In such cases the voluntary basis of participation in the crusade, which in principle applied to every individual who took part, would have been overlaid by social and economic pressures of various kinds: if one's lord, protector, or employer was minded to up sticks and leave on crusade, one's own personal room for manoeuvre might be significantly reduced. When confronted with such pressures many people must have made a virtue out of a necessity and taken the cross themselves, in the process contributing to the constellation of 'rich and poor' pictured by Fulcher of Chartres, who himself took part in the crusade and may have wanted to show Urban II as more on top of recruitment than seems to have been the case.

On the other hand, the male aristocratic elite of lords and knights exercised, if not a monopoly of violence, then at least a preponderant role in its effective exercise. For the crusade message to succeed, therefore, it had to resonate in particular among those who were the indispensable core around which an eleventh-century army of volunteers would be able to coalesce. This would have seemed an obvious move on the part of those propagating the crusade. Pope Urban II, for example, came from an aristocratic background, the family of the lords of Châtillon in Champagne in North-Eastern France. Most of the senior ecclesiastics who helped to spread the word—monks, as we have noted, seem to have been particularly effective recruiters—were similarly born into aristocratic families. For reasons of familial and class identification, it was the cultural habitus of the martial aristocracy, its routine behaviours and the moral universe that it inhabited, that served as the default when churchmen thought of the lay world beyond the cloister or the cathedral precincts. As Urban made very clear in one of his surviving letters, he was 'stimulating the minds of knights to go on this

expedition'. The same very deliberate targeting of the aristocracy is in evidence in some of the accounts of Urban's sermon at Clermont. One historian of the crusade, Robert the Monk, has the pope expressly appeal to the young and fit and those best practised in the exercise of arms, precisely those for whom the evocation of the past military glory of the Franks, the cult of physical strength, and a fear of weakness would be powerfully resonant notions. For a second writer, Baldric of Bourgueil, like Robert notably attuned to the value system of lay aristocrats, the crusade amounted to an opportunity to effect a root-and-branch recalibration of the moral loading of knighthood. Moreover, Baldric's insistence that would-be crusaders should take pity on the sufferings of eastern Christians as if they were their own blood brothers evokes the powerful interpersonal bonds within the male elite. It was perfectly possible for people from other backgrounds to have strong attachments to their brothers, of course, but such affective ties—in theory if not always in practice—were a prominent element of aristocratic self-fashioning: witness Arnold Sancho's vengeful reaction to the death of Fort Sancho. In more general terms, we can glimpse in the evidence for the terms in which the crusade message was pitched anticipations of an image of the enemy which was to have a long history ahead of it in future crusade sermons, the manuscript illuminations of crusade texts, and other discursive explorations of the infidel 'Other': that is, a picture of the crusaders' opponents, not simply as a kind of vast and threatening horde but also more precisely as a negative mirror image of the aristocratic class of Western Europe. The privileging of the male aristocracy in the preaching of the First Crusade—in large part a policy baked in from the beginning, but also an evolving reaction to the unanticipated levels of enthusiasm among the non-combatant classes—had as a consequence the apparent paradox that a group that only made up about 10–15 per cent of the total number of people who went on the crusade was disproportionately represented in the discourses that justified and enveloped it.

Crusading's primary debt to the values of the aristocratic elite meant that it was infused with, and functioned as a privileged expression of, high-status masculine norms and ideals. The accounts of Urban II's sermon at Clermont, although they differ in their details, broadly agree that appealing to the aristocratic male self-image was a favoured tactic of the pope and others preaching the crusade message, pressing powerful buttons in lords' and knights' minds. It was, they were told, a source of shame that, so it was claimed, eastern Christians, Jerusalem, and the Holy Places were abused by the infidel, and it was likewise shameful to be, in effect, defeated by inferior opposition by not doing anything about it. Those responding to the call to arms would be demonstrating magnitude of heart, and would bring their great bodily strength to bear down on the enemy. And by putting aside pride, the cardinal sin most typically associated with aristocratic demeanour, the arms bearers who took the cross could effect a kind of self-willed ethical conversion into a 'knighthood of Christ', which would equip them to redirect their formidable energies away from the morally damaging internecine wars that they routinely fought.

II. Manuscript illumination in initial: St Gerald of Aurillac. In this period, very few lay people, except some kings and queens, were recognized as saints. One of the exceptions was Gerald of Aurillac (d. 909), a count from central France. It is significant that he was believed to have led a life heavily influenced by monastic role models.

Because the values and qualities that a society attaches to gender are relational, not fixed absolutes, a useful way in which to understand the importance of masculinity in the self-image of those especially targeted by the crusade message is to consider where aristocratic women fit into the picture. A revealing piece of evidence is a story told by Orderic Vitalis—which, though overdrawn, may have had some basis in fact—that soon after 1066, while William the Conqueror's followers were still engaged in the bloody business of subjugating England, some of their wives, 'consumed by fierce lust', lobbied for their husbands to return to their conjugal beds back in Normandy. At stake, therefore, was a conflict between two sites of masculinity, the public and the private: the fear of appearing treacherous and, even worse, cowardly in the eyes of both William and one's peers pitted against the dishonour of one's wife resorting to adultery in one's absence. Some significant figures, we are told, succumbed to their wives' pressure. Orderic places the blame much more on the women than their nervous husbands, who he says were burdened by their dilemma. But it is also clearly implied that in the end they made the wrong choice in dropping out of the public and homosocial sphere of violence and loyal service to one's lord, for they were denied the rewards that William handed out to his more resolute supporters. The threat that

women posed to aristocratic male self-fashioning also emerges in Orderic's well-known descriptions of the handful of powerful and assertive noblewomen who successfully inserted themselves into the bloody and highly competitive world of eleventh-century Normandy. The individual who perhaps exercised Orderic's imagination the most was Mabel of Bellême, who was believed to have freely used poison to further her ambitions, and who, fittingly in Orderic's eyes, was violently done to death in a seemingly uncharacteristic moment of vulnerable femininity, as she relaxed in bed after a bath. Another figure who fascinated Orderic was Isabel of Conches, whose energy and courage as a warrior and her ability to be one of the guys—she was 'generous, daring, and jocular'—transgressed gender norms more obliquely by appropriating them. Whenever a monk such as Orderic is talking about women, one must be on one's guard for misogyny and stereotyping, accentuated in Mabel of Bellême's case by the fact that she was an implacable enemy of the family that had founded Orderic's monastery, Saint-Évroul. But we can also see in such women the exceptions—perhaps less rare than Orderic was willing to concede—who, in different ways, by entering masculine spaces either subverted or implicitly reinforced the culturally predominant elite male values that they found there.

A fundamental feature of aristocratic masculinity in this period is that it was profoundly imitative. This was rooted in the ways in which, as boys and adolescents, young males were taught to replicate the skills of their elders, in particular to be able to ride and fight in tight and disciplined groups, and to be socialized in the values and behavioural scripts of those around them. Orderic has a revealing passage in his *Ecclesiastical History* which suggests how the engrained habits of learning from example in this social environment could be extended in directions which anticipated aspects of the crusade appeal. He describes the household of one of the most powerful lords in post-Conquest England, Hugh of Avranches, earl of Chester, as a typical site of elite male formation, full of boys absorbing the values of those around them—values which it is implied took their cue from Hugh's own particular qualities as a quintessential alpha male, a conspicuous man amongst men, brave in battle, lavish in giving, 'a lover of games and luxuries, actors, horses, and dogs and other vanities of the same kind'. But Hugh's household also had a place for countervailing influences. Among those who served in Hugh's chapel was a cleric named Gerold of Avranches. In a well-known passage Orderic evokes Gerold's efforts to raise the tone of the earthy hurly-burly of Earl Hugh's entourage:

> He did his best to convert the men of the court to a better way of life by showing them the examples of their forebears. He rightly condemned the worldly wantonness that he saw in many, and deplored the great negligence that most of them showed for the worship of God. To great lords, simple knights, and noble boys alike he gave salutary counsel; and he made a great collection of tales of the combats of holy knights, drawn from the Old Testament and more recent records of Christian achievements, for them to imitate. He told them vivid stories of the conflicts of Demetrius and George, of Theodore and Sebastian, of the Theban legion and Maurice its leader, and of Eustace, supreme commander of the army and his companions, who won the crown of martyrdom in heaven. He also told them of the holy champion William [of Gellone], who after long service in war renounced the world and fought gloriously for the Lord under the monastic rule. (Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford: 1968–80), vol. 1 p. 217)

12. St Demetrios depicted as a Byzantine officer: mosaic, Hosias Loukas, Greece. Although this image was created in an Orthodox Christian setting, it neatly encapsulates many of the complex accommodations between religion and violence that were also in evidence in Catholic Christian thought and practice.

The various legends told of Gerold's choice of exemplars would, at the very least, have sent out mixed signals to his audiences about the feasibility of attaining moral worth *through* the exercise of arms and immersion in the world as opposed to stepping aside from it. Significantly, the principal way in which Orderic chooses to register the impact of Gerold's preaching is not by claiming that, in the end, he fostered a new, more elevated mood in Hugh's household, but rather that many of those who heeded his advice opted out and became monks. We are still, so to speak, at the intractable dilemma stage in Tancred's crisis of conscience.

Nonetheless, Orderic's insistence that Gerold's 'way in' was the power of example and the cultural cachet of imitation points the way forward to the traction that the First Crusade message was able to achieve among men of the same class as Gerold's listeners a few years later. One indication of this is Robert the Monk's inclusion in his version of Pope Urban's Clermont sermon of an invitation to recall the stories of one's ancestors: the specific examples that Robert goes on to put in Urban's mouth, the ninth-century Frankish king-emperors Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious, were distant but resonant figures who personified the cultural power of example as a stimulus to achievement. The Church was practised in grounding its sense of mission in lessons

from the past. Monastic reformers around the time of the First Crusade, for example, evoked the *vita apostolica*, the way of life believed to have been followed by the Apostles, as the blueprint of the religious life. Similarly, and even more resonantly, both the monastic vocation and pilgrimage could be described as nothing less than *imitatio Christi*, the imitation of Christ. It is noteworthy that this powerful metaphor was extended to the first crusaders; and the notion of following Christ, of walking in his footsteps, would have a long future ahead of it in crusade rhetoric. The novelty of the First Crusade meant that those preaching it could not, as their later successors could, refer back to earlier crusades themselves as direct sources of imitative inspiration. Nonetheless, it is perhaps not an exaggeration to state that the deeply embedded culture of imitation, which combined the ability to change and adapt to new demands with a reassuring sense of continuity and the personal validation of feeling that one was contributing to tradition, is the single most important factor to consider when pondering why and how the First Crusade 'took'.

Three misconceptions or exaggerations tend to attach themselves to the First Crusade. The first is that the crusade was an exercise in proto-colonial Islamophobia. It was not. It is true that, as the accounts of Urban II's sermon at Clermont attest, the preaching of the cross relied on Western Europeans' having some vague but potent stereotypes of an imprecisely understood but threatening Other 'out there': an immanent presence whose supposed tyranny over eastern Christians and western pilgrims and its mistreatment of the Holy Places could be used to arouse feelings of sympathy and vengeful repulsion. It is also the case that, as the crusade movement developed in subsequent decades, it was able to draw more and more on its own expanding body of memories and lore, with the result that the negative image of the Muslim Other was sharpened in oral tradition and in vernacular and learned literature to become a significant part of the motivational and justificatory apparatus of crusading. But we are not at that point in 1095–6: the evocation of a threatening and alien Other was a useful, but not yet sufficient or necessary, part of the crusade preacher's repertoire. Second, and by extension, the First Crusade was not the organic and inevitable culmination of a series of conflicts between western Christians and Muslims in the Iberian peninsula, Sicily, and North Africa, which had in some way over the course of the eleventh century cumulatively and effectively schooled Europeans in the notion of meritorious holy war to such an extent that Urban II had simply to pull a few final strands together and the idea of the crusade would duly take shape. This very teleological approach to the origins of the First Crusade is not only old fashioned in methodological terms, it also makes too much of scattered pieces of evidence that do not always point in the same direction. It is true that one can find in the eleventh-century conflicts around the Western Mediterranean certain anticipations of crusade discourses, such as a tentative connection between ideas of war and pilgrimage, a firming up around the language of penance of the spiritual benefits that soldiers could receive, and even martyrdom. But such scattered references do not amount to a red thread leading inexorably to Clermont—especially when one factors in the considerable amount of evidence from these Mediterranean theatres that points in different

directions. *A fortiori*, the claims by some historians that eleventh-century wars between Christians and Muslims in Spain or Sicily or both *were* the first crusade before the fact simply do not hold up.

Third, it is sometimes argued that both the primary driver for clerical endorsement of the First Crusade and the reason why many thousands of people went on it was the fact that the expedition was bound up in anxieties about the imminence of the Last Judgement. This receives some support in the evidence, but only in certain places. In his account of the Clermont sermon, for example, Guibert of Nogent has Urban insist that the Christian conquest of Jerusalem was a necessary precursor to the arrival of the Apocalypse as foretold in the Bible; the crusade, in other words, would trigger the final phase of providential history and help to usher in the end of time. Some other contemporary observers remarked on the hold of eschatological anxieties on the part of some enthusiasts for the crusade—though they sometimes did so in the context of making disparaging remarks about the supposed gullibility and unsophistication of the poor who bought into such notions. One should not entirely discount the significance of eschatological fears in the mix of ideas stirred up by the preaching of the cross. But apocalypticism features much less in the contemporary evidence viewed as a whole than one might expect if such a momentous issue had been front and centre of understandings of and reactions to the crusade message.

13. Castle of Turenne, Corrèze, France. This imposing castle was the *caput*, or dynastic base, of a powerful southern French lord, Raymond of Turenne, who went on the First Crusade. It was from the networks forged in places such as this that many crusaders were drawn.

If the success of the First Crusade appeal can be reduced to a single word, that word would be legitimation, more specifically legitimation of the gendered value system of Western Europe's aristocratic elites. This elite had for many centuries enjoyed a love-hate relationship with the Church, oscillating between disapproval and tentative explorations of the idea that the violence that was central to the lay elite's ethos could not only be tolerated in certain circumstances but even be treated as meritorious. The First Crusade clarified this relationship and put it on a firmer ideological footing than before. This was made possible by the ability of a newly invigorated ecclesiastical hierarchy, invested with a sense of mission and better equipped than at any stage in recent centuries to communicate its ideas, to tap into the sort of conviction about the potential rectitude of violence evidenced by Arnold Sancho while also addressing lay people's anxieties about the ethical distance between their own lives and that represented by a more confident and assertive Church, especially by monasteries. We have seen how that resolution of conflicting values is dramatized by Ralph of Caen, though we should always allow for the element of narratorial artifice in its evocation of Tancred's personal crisis. It is important to remember that we can never really drill into the minds of individual crusaders such as Tancred and discover what truly motivated them. But what we can say is that Tancred, like many thousands of others who went on crusade or supported those who did, was caught up in an enthusiasm for a kind of collective performance of masculine purpose, an acting out of a newly fashionable discourse that fed off deeply ingrained habits of imitation and placed a particularly high value on public, visible achievement as a marker of status. This mood and the impulses that fed it are neatly captured, again by Orderic Vitalis, in the story of a French aristocrat, Helias of La Flèche, count of Maine, who found himself unable to take part in the First Crusade because his lands were threatened by William Rufus, king of England and newly powerful in Normandy, on Maine's borders. Helias wanted nonetheless to approximate as closely as possible to the crusade vocation while attending to questions of prestige, status, and reputation in his own back yard. As he defiantly tells Rufus:

> My desire was to fight against the infidel in the name of the Lord, but now it appears I have a battle nearer home against the enemies of Christ…[God] has seen fit to entrust to me the stewardship of Maine, which I should not weakly relinquish for any light cause, for fear of leaving God's people at the mercy of predators, like shepherdless sheep among wolves…I will not abandon the cross of our Saviour which I have taken up as a pilgrim, but will have it engraved on my shield and helmet and all my arms; on my saddle and bridle also I will stamp the sign of the holy cross. Fortified by this symbol I will move against the enemies of peace and right, and defend Christian lands in battle. (Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford: 1968–80), vol. 5, p. 231)

Although Helias's utterance—or at least what Orderic puts in his mouth—anticipates the extension of crusade language and symbolism to a variety of theatres of war in later decades, it was, in the immediate context of the terms in which the First Crusade was

Map 1. Europe and the Near East before *c.*1300.

Reval
Novgorod
Riga
Königsberg
CASPIAN SEA
Orsova
Danube
BLACK SEA
Nish
Sofia
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
Trebizond
Sebasteia
Thessalonica
Kivotos
Nicaea
Ankara
Manzikert
Larissa
Gallipoli
Dorylaion
Melitene
Mosul
Philomelion
Konya
Smyrna
Edessa
Thebes
Ephesus
Adana
Tarsus
Ayas
Athens
Andravidha
Adalia
Siliftke
Antioch
Aleppo
Baghdad
Cyprus
Nicosia
Tripoli
Crete
Damascus
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Acre
Jerusalem
Damietta
Alexandria
Cairo

being preached, somewhat eccentric. But what is most compelling for our purposes is the way in which some of the most potent imperatives of elite male self-fashioning—appearing to be strong, energetic, and dutiful—are seamlessly interwoven with elevated notions of right cause and duty. Helias's outburst captures the powerful cultural conditioning, the internalized masculine codes, and the cherished beliefs about the moral loading of violence that made the First Crusade possible.

CHAPTER 2

The Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1192

NICHOLAS MORTON

The First Crusade was the product of a cluster of societies known as Western Christendom (modern-day Western Europe) undergoing a process of rapid change. An embattled pope seeking to protect his position against both the Germarn emperor and a rival contender for his office; a church hierarchy crying out for social reform; a Byzantine emperor desperate for military aid against the invading Turks; a Christian populace longing for distant Jerusalem; and underpinning it all a culture that was becoming wealthier, more populous, and better able to exert its influence beyond its own borders—such was the situation at the end of the eleventh century.

Launched on 27 November 1095 at the Council of Clermont, the expedition to retake Jerusalem (later known as the First Crusade) was the outcome of these combined pressures. This was not the first time that a pope had pursued the dream of retaking the holy city. Pope Urban's mentor, Gregory VII, tried to do so back in 1074 (and it is possible that this goal had been under discussion in earlier decades as well). Still, these earlier calls provoked only a muted response, nothing like the tens of thousands of people who left their homes and families to join the crusade launched at Clermont in 1095; a venture moreover from which few would return.

Pope Urban II's precise motives for instigating the crusade are difficult to define. This is because the crusade addressed so many of the pontiff's problems that it is unclear which thought was uppermost in his mind. Sending warlike knights to the east drew them away from their own disputes at home, thereby deflecting them from their petty vendettas. These noble squabbles were a problem for the Church because such conflicts were considered to be deeply sinful, inhibiting knights from reaching salvation. The quest for Jerusalem redirected their energies towards a goal deemed to be an extension of God's will. In return for participation, crusaders were offered a 'general indulgence'—a concession that freed them from all their previous sins provided that they first confessed them to a priest. Other papal interests concerned the Catholic Church's relations with the Byzantine Empire. Sending troops to the east would help to

buttress the eastern empire against the Turks who had conquered so much of Byzantine Anatolia in recent decades. Certainly the Byzantines—long-term employers of western mercenaries—were seeking to recruit troops and had sent an embassy to the papacy appealing for reinforcements only a few months prior to the launch of the crusade. By extension, it might also have been hoped that the venture would rebuild relations between the papacy and the Byzantine Church which had been deteriorating in recent decades. Moreover, reconquering Jerusalem itself would also be a massive achievement in the eyes of contemporaries. It was the location of the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ and, in the decades before the crusade, the holy city had been assuming increasing prominence in western spirituality while pilgrim parties had been taking the roads to Jerusalem in ever increasing numbers. Urban's own position was under threat, both from an anti-pope and a hostile German emperor. The crusade was not directed against either of these two opponents and yet it would assert his position as Christendom's supreme religious authority. Matters are complicated still further by the fact that many different accounts of the pope's central sermon at this council have survived and it is not clear whether any of them reflect what he actually said.

For participants, the overriding military objective underpinning the whole expedition was the conquest of the holy city of Jerusalem itself. The many surviving legal documents detailing individual crusaders' preparations for the journey to the east—known collectively as 'charters'—are almost unanimous in defining Jerusalem as their sole or primary goal. This was a society where children were raised on biblical stories from both the Old and New Testaments, many of which took place in the Jerusalem area, perhaps most importantly Jesus' crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension. Typically, newly recruited crusaders knew little else about the 'east' beyond what was reported in the Bible. Reasonably reliable maps did not emerge in Western Christendom until the thirteenth century so even Jerusalem's broad geographical location was not clearly understood. Likewise, the affairs of the Near East—its main political powers, its religions (including Islam), its wars—were little more than a distant rumour to a large proportion of crusaders, particularly those from Northern Europe.

The first crusaders' specific motivations for seeking the reconquest of Jerusalem seem to have been rather mixed and are hard to define. As with any mass movement, the participants' reasons for joining the campaign will have been distinct to their specific circumstances. Some may not have had any choice; if their lord was going on crusade then they may have had no option but to go too. For some, the campaign may have seemed like an enormous adventure, while for others it may have offered the opportunity for escape. Many may simply have been caught up in the euphoria of the event. Nevertheless, intertwined within all such agendas and throughout the crusade itself, the crusaders demonstrated an intense collective religiosity and pious devotion coupled with an insistent desire to reach Jerusalem; points which require us to take seriously the notion that their commitment to the crusade was driven in large part by faith. Certainly, knights and pilgrims from Western Christendom would have needed

an exceptionally strong incentive to embark upon such an arduous venture. Travelling to Jerusalem was intensely dangerous, time consuming, and very expensive. There could be little hope of coming home any richer—quite the reverse—and so only a powerful inducement on the scale of the general indulgence coupled with the ambition of recapturing Jerusalem could truly have galvanized people in such numbers.

From its conception, the crusade was wreathed in the language and terminology of a pilgrimage expedition; it was styled as the march of a host of sinners in search of redemption to the place of the crucifixion. Still, there was never any suggestion that this would be a peaceful journey. The First Crusade was conceived as a military campaign from the outset and the violence started almost immediately. The crusaders staged multiple attacks on Jewish communities, particularly in Northern Europe. The Church had long prohibited the killing of Jews in Western Christendom and some bishops and local rulers attempted to protect Jewish families within their jurisdictions from these aggressors, but even they proved unable to prevent a spate of vicious attacks. Some crusaders wanted to extort money, others wanted to force the Jews to convert, others proved intent on lethal violence.

Amidst this tumult, the first major armies began to move east. Whether by river boat, coastal shipping, or road, marching parties of crusaders set out for their first major waypoint: the Byzantine Empire's capital of Constantinople. Several of these early forces met with disaster even before they left Western Christendom. Some were routed by the king of Hungary (a Catholic monarch), for whom they were little more than dangerous and violent rabbles. Eventually, however, large numbers began to gather outside Constantinople. It seems unlikely that the Byzantine emperor, Alexios I Komnenos, would have been pleased by what he saw from the city's walls. When he had requested aid against the Turks, he had presumably been hoping for manageable contingents of professional troops. Here, however, were tens of thousands of pilgrims with little intention of serving his interests and many of them were unarmed.

The leader of this first major crusading army was a hermit named Peter. He seems to have been a dynamic figure, but he proved unable to maintain control over his huge force, which was comprised of many different contingents from across Christendom. Soon after they crossed into Anatolia (modern-day Turkey), Peter's host became divided as various contingents began raiding into Turkish territory. Turkish retribution was brisk and decisive—the crusaders were annihilated almost immediately at the battle of Kivotos with only a handful of survivors making it back to Byzantine territory.

This was, however, only the first wave. A second was converging on Constantinople, even as the first was being destroyed. These forces were numerous and commanded by some of Christendom's leading nobles including: Duke Godfrey of Lower Lotharingia, Count Raymond of Toulouse, and Count Stephen of Blois. There was also a Southern-Italian Norman contingent led by Bohemond of Taranto, son of Robert Guiscard (the Norman conqueror who along with his brother Roger had seized much of Southern Italy and Sicily in recent decades).

1. Alexios I, Byzantine emperor at the time of the First Crusade.

From Emperor Alexios' perspective the arrival of these new forces was a worrying prospect. They may have come in peace—in some cases even to render aid—but their ranks included recent enemies, mostly importantly Bohemond of Taranto who had invaded the Byzantine Empire's lands on the eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea only a few years previously. For their part, the crusaders were frequently undiplomatic in their manner and their forces tended to loot provisions from the Byzantine populace when supplies ran low. With Byzantine suspiciousness on one side and crusader intransigence on the other, relations experienced a rocky start and the crusader armies'

2. Peter the Hermit leading a contingent of the First Crusade.

journeys through Greek territory were studded with skirmishes with Byzantine troops. Eventually, Alexios and the crusaders reached an agreement by which the Franks would take an oath of allegiance in return for Byzantine assistance. Certainly both parties stood to benefit a great deal from cooperation: the Byzantines hoped to regain at least a portion of their colossal territorial losses in Anatolia and the crusaders needed logistical support for their journey to Jerusalem.

The next phase of the crusaders' journey involved crossing Anatolia; the road leading south-east towards Northern Syria. Much of this region had been in Byzantine hands until only a few years previously, but now it was under Turkish control—the result of repeated Byzantine civil wars coupled with the constant pressure exerted on the region by nomadic Turkman groups and their leading dynasty—the Anatolian Seljuks. The crusaders' first target was the major city of Nicaea which had fallen to the Turks over a decade previously and which the Byzantines wanted back.

At this time, the Turks were the dominant military power across the vast majority of the Near East. During the previous century, they had conquered vast swaths of territory in Anatolia formerly belonging to the Byzantines or, further south, regions held by Arab or Kurdish rulers. Turkic communities had begun to migrate out of the Central Asian Steppe region since the early eleventh century, moving across the Oxus river and then south-west towards Persia and Iraq. The Ghaznavids (the major power blocking their path) resisted their advance but were driven back. The Turks then pushed further west, driving round the southern margins of the Caspian Sea and into Azerbaijan and ultimately Syria. Baghdad fell in 1055 and across the region many local powers—including Arab, Kurdish, and Armenian leaders—found themselves compelled to accept Turkish rule. Jerusalem fell to the Turks in the early 1070s, along with

most of Syria and Anatolia. In 1077 the Turks attempted to advance still further into the Fatimid Empire, a Shiʿite Muslim empire controlling Egypt as well as some of the Levant's coastlands, but on this occasion they were blocked.

By the 1080s the Turks had constructed a vast empire spanning from the steppe country in the north-east to the Sinai desert in the south-west. Even so, Turkish authority was no monolithic block. The major power was the Seljuk dynasty based in Isfahan in Persia, but much of its frontier territory was governed by a range of semi-independent nomadic Turkman communities, warlords, and—often rebellious—members of the Seljuk family and their satellites. Further north, Anatolia came to be governed by a rival branch of the main Seljuk dynasty (described here as the Anatolian Seljuks) and it was this power that, under their ruler Kilij Arslan I, encountered the First Crusade and annihilated Peter the Hermit's army at Kivotos.

When Kilij Arslan learned of the renewed crusader attack against Nicaea he was engaged in besieging the town of Melitene far to the south. His response was immediate; he rushed to lift the crusader siege but on this occasion was badly defeated in the attempt and forced to withdraw. Nicaea was then tightly blockaded by crusading forces and the city surrendered to Emperor Alexios I soon afterwards. Pushing south, the crusaders beat Kilij Arslan a second time when he attempted to block their crossing of Anatolia at the battle of Dorylaion (1 July 1097). With these defeats, Turkish authority suffered a major blow across the entire region. Meanwhile, the Byzantine Empire's armies, following in the wake of their crusader allies, retook town after town in Western Anatolia.

The crusaders themselves suffered major casualties during their crossing of Anatolia. Turkish attacks took their toll, but the inhospitable and often mountainous landscape caused many to die of starvation, exposure, and dehydration. It was therefore a much-reduced force that eventually set up siegeworks outside the city of Antioch in Northern Syria in October 1097. By this stage, news of Turkish reverses had circulated far and wide and several local communities, conquered by the Turks back in the 1070s, chose this moment to rise up in rebellion. Many Armenian peoples revolted against Seljuk rule and so too did some Arab groups. In the coastal region of Cilicia in Southern Anatolia, flying columns of crusader knights found many supporters among the Armenian population and most of the major towns fell easily under their control.

Some of these communities requested crusader assistance including the people of Edessa, a city which, soon afterwards, became the first 'Crusader State': the county of Edessa. Further south, the Fatimid Egyptians were also pleased to see their longstanding Turkish foes in full retreat and they responded favourably to envoys sent by the crusaders who wanted to establish a treaty of cooperation. The Fatimids also made use of the chaos caused by the crusade in Northern Syria to retake Jerusalem from the Turks in 1098. Even some local Turkish warlords—recognizing the change in political tides—sought crusader patrons. The crusaders fanned the flames of this turmoil, basing themselves in a siege encampment outside Antioch while raiding far and wide across the city's hinterland.

Although at this point the tides of war were broadly flowing in the crusaders' favour, they too sustained considerable losses outside Antioch during the winter of 1097–8. Starvation, exposure, and the ongoing fighting all took their toll, despite the occasional arrival of ships bringing supplies from Byzantium and Western Christendom. In this adverse environment, the crusaders were acutely aware that there was a very real chance that the crusade might collapse entirely; some were already deserting. From the crusaders' perspective, these challenges were not coincidental. They reflected their' sinful behaviour that inhibited God from blessing their campaign with victory. Consequently, they considered it essential to purge themselves of sin to ensure that the crusade would succeed and the papal legate Adhémar of Le Puy established a series of reforms intended to address the crusaders' behaviour. Strict punishments were instigated for all crimes and fasting and prayer were strongly encouraged. It was also decided that the women within the crusading army represented a source of temptation and so they were sent out of the encampment to take refuge in neighbouring towns.

During the course of the crusaders' gruelling eight-month siege of Antioch, two major Turkish armies attempted to relieve the city. At this time, the most powerful Seljuk rulers in Syria were the brothers Ridwan of Aleppo and Duqaq of Damascus. They both sought to drive the crusaders away but they were unable to form a united front because of their own quarrels. These disputes had their origin in the widespread infighting across the Turkish Empire following the death of Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah back in 1092. Their father Tutush (Malik Shah's brother) had hoped to seize the sultanate for himself but he was killed in the fighting and so his sons Ridwan and Duqaq then set about contesting control over their father's territory, invading one

3. Malik Shah, Great Seljuk Sultan.

4. The battle of Antioch (1098).

another's lands even as the crusaders advanced down from the north. They were defeated separately by the crusaders in major battles near Antioch.

Eventually Antioch fell to the crusaders on the night of 2–3 June 1098. This came about when a group of soldiers led by Bohemond of Taranto used a ladder to scale the rampart at night with the assistance of an ally from within the city. They were then able to secure and open one of Antioch's gates, enabling the crusaders to break into the city.

Soon after the conquest of Antioch, a third Turkish relief army arrived, seeking to drive the crusaders away. This force was led by Karbugha, ruler of Mosul. The Seljuk sultanate at this time may have been riven by civil war, but Karbugha still managed to assemble one of the largest armies raised by any commander in this era, possibly as many as 40,000 troops. By this stage, the crusaders were much reduced and lacked horses—a serious problem given their reliance on heavy cavalry. Even so they managed to defeat Karbugha on 29 June 1098 outside the walls of Antioch. Karbugha's defeat effectively signalled the creation of a second Crusader State: the principality of Antioch, with Bohemond as its first prince.

With the Turks' regional field armies in tatters, there was now little to prevent the crusaders driving south. The local Arab Muslim rulers of towns such as Shaizar, Tripoli, Homs, and Acre made no real effort to bar their path. The crusaders may have been a dangerous and unexpected invader, but they had also driven off their former Turkish overlords so neutrality was therefore a very natural choice. Throughout these events, the crusaders had been engaged in ongoing treaty negotiations with the Fatimid rulers of Egypt. Within the last phase of these talks, held at the fortress of Arqa (near Tripoli), the crusaders' best offer to the Fatimids was that they would assist them to reconquer Syria from the Turks, thereby restoring Fatimid authority across

5. Jerusalem.

much of the region. In return for their assistance the crusaders had a very simple demand—they wanted Jerusalem. The Fatimids, for their part, were becoming rather lukewarm about this alliance having apparently been advised by Emperor Alexios that the crusading army was now much reduced. They were prepared to permit the crusaders to visit Jerusalem, but not to take possession. Ultimately, the talks collapsed—neither side was prepared to yield its claim to the holy city.

In the event, the crusaders besieged Jerusalem which fell on 15 July 1099. They then conducted a brutal series of massacres of the city's inhabitants. Slaughtering a captured city's population was not uncommon for medieval commanders, particularly if the populace had refused to surrender prior to the city's fall. Nevertheless, holy war ideology and the pent-up emotions of years of toil on the crusade lent a particularly vicious edge to the crusaders' actions and the result was a bloody period of killing. In the aftermath, a third Crusader State was created: the kingdom of Jerusalem.

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The establishment of the Crusader States represented a period of rapid territorial expansion for Western Christendom. It also suddenly brought crusaders—many from distant lands such as Northern France or Germany—into a fundamentally new environment. The landscape and climate of the Near East little resembled their homelands. They learned to eat new foods—sugar/sugarcane in particular was frequently remarked upon. They took in new sights, such as the Dead Sea and the pilgrimage sites

of the Holy Land. In later decades many crusaders commented on the animals they encountered, particularly the many species of snake and predatory cat found across the Near East (which were a source of terror and fascination for many). Those who remained needed to adapt to this new environment, while those who travelled home often carried back souvenirs and trinkets to remember their visit. Many first crusaders returned with palm branches, as was traditional for pilgrims. Others were more ambitious and one French crusader called Gouffier of Lastours even tried to return to France with a lion which he had tamed during his travels. Unfortunately for him, he was barred from bringing so dangerous a beast onto the ship which would carry him home (the sailors would not let the lion on board).

Few returned home with significant wealth. For the vast majority, crusading was an enormously expensive activity for which their families had made substantial sacrifices with little hope of any financial return. The legal documents, 'charters', which describe individual crusaders' preparations document many sales of property and land so as to raise sufficient cash. The suggestion has been made that knights would have had to raise over four times their annual income simply to cover their costs.

Jerusalem's conquest and a subsequent battlefield victory over the Fatimids outside the nearby coastal city of Ascalon effectively marked the end of this wave of the First Crusade. It also ensured that this campaign would not be a one off. There were now three Frankish territories in the east and the returning crusaders were aware that these needed to be defended—Jerusalem in particular. Moreover, when the surviving crusaders—at least those who did not settle in the east—returned home they found that they were now viewed as heroes of the highest order. In later years there would be plenty of warriors who, whether out of shame for not joining the First Crusade, out of piety to visit and protect newly won Jerusalem, or out of a desire to win the undying laurels of a Christian champion, would take the road to the east. Moreover, the astonishing military successes of the First Crusade swiftly became a theological argument in their own right. From a western Christian perspective, if God had not supported the crusaders then how could they possibly have won? The crusades would go on.

Responding to calls to buttress the newly won holy sites in the east, the spring of 1101 witnessed the arrival of a new group of armies outside Constantinople's ramparts. These were led by commanders including Count Albert of Biandrate, Duke Welf IV of Bavaria, Ida of Austria, and Duke William IX of Aquitaine. Among these forces was a company led by Count Stephen of Blois, who famously had abandoned the First Crusade during the siege of Antioch, but had been forced to redeem himself in this new campaign on the insistence of his wife, Adela of Blois. As with the First Crusade, there were troubled relations between the crusaders and Alexios Komnenos and these problems were only exacerbated by the fact that the emperor felt that he had been cheated by the first crusaders when they claimed Antioch for themselves. Tensions were smoothed somewhat when Raymond of Toulouse (veteran of the First Crusade) joined their forces. He had travelled to Constantinople from Northern Syria and was

6. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.

closely allied to the Byzantine cause (as well as being an entrenched opponent of Bohemond, ruler of Antioch).

During the summer of 1101, several army groups attempted to cross Anatolia. They seem to have been buoyed up with the highest expectations and there was even some wild talk of besieging distant Baghdad. In the event, however, they all fared badly. The Seljuks enlisted support from a neighbouring Turkish dynasty—the Danishmendids—and with their combined armies they eroded the crusaders' marching columns. Turkic cavalry fought in the manner of nomadic warriors from the Central Asian steppe

where life was spent herding and hunting in the saddle. They were excellent riders and their preferred weapon was the bow. They were lightly armoured, but their specialism was to encircle their foes, harassing them with volleys of arrows and sudden attacks until they became demoralized or fled. These tactics were well suited for destroying an advancing crusading army and the crusaders of 1101 suffered acutely from an ongoing cycle of attacks before finally being trapped and destroyed in pitched battles. There were few survivors. Crossing Anatolia was a major military-logistical challenge and few crusading armies survived the journey intact; none without substantial casualties.

The '1101 crusade' was major failure and yet the needs of the newly founded Crusader States remained a pressing concern. From 1099 onwards, travellers continued to make the journey to Jerusalem, whether in search of salvation or trade, or to start a new life. Settlers were needed to buttress these new Frankish-ruled lands, providing the numbers both to expand the Crusader States' frontiers and to maintain control over the many other communities which now fell within their borders. They arrived in their thousands. The vast majority came by sea and the fleets belonging to the Italian cities of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice played a vital role in opening up the sea lanes to the Eastern Mediterranean while driving away the Fatimid fleet. Among these travellers, many came to continue the work of defending Jerusalem.

Strictly speaking, whether these people should be labelled 'crusaders' or more simply 'pilgrims' or 'settlers' is something of a grey area. Defining the 'crusade' or 'crusaders' precisely has long proved a major challenge, not least because the term was not used at the time. The First Crusade was over and yet there was no defined endpoint and these new arrivals were intent on pursuing the same goal. Whether they took a crusading vow—and whether the Church would have deemed it legitimate if they had—is unclear. The newcomers included forces which supported Raymond of Toulouse and his heirs in their attempt to build a new Crusader State. Following the 1101 crusade, Raymond laid siege to the city of Tripoli in 1102 and subsequently began to conquer the surrounding territory. Tripoli itself eventually fell in 1109 with the support of forces from Western Christendom although by this stage Raymond (d. 1105) and his successors had long been referring to themselves as the 'counts of Tripoli'; masters of the fourth Crusader State: the county of Tripoli.

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Several crusades were launched in later decades, often instigated in response to a crisis in the Latin East. The first of these took place in 1105–8 following the return of Bohemond of Taranto to the west. Back in 1104, a combined Antiochene-Edessan army had been soundly defeated by a Turkish force in Northern Syria at the battle of Harran (1104). In the wake of this reverse both the Turks and the Byzantines had seized the opportunity to wrest land from the weakened northern Crusader States (Edessa and Antioch) causing Bohemond to head west seeking aid. After his return, Bohemond began to gather reinforcements and laid out plans to avenge himself on all his enemies. His idea was to assault first the Byzantine Empire before moving against

the Turks of Anatolia and Syria. Given his credentials as a 'hero' of the First Crusade there was no shortage of willing recruits and a new crusade was proclaimed at a council in Poitiers (June 1106). The decision to assault the Byzantines marked an abrupt shift in the nature of crusading—the First Crusade had been sent *at least in part* to assist Byzantium, but Bohemond's crusade by contrast would target them directly. Even so, the army made little headway, crossing the Adriatic but then suffering a major defeat near Dyrrachion in the summer of 1108.

Bohemond's crusade was a conspicuous failure and yet these defeats did not curb the Crusader States' continued military expansion. There were occasional setbacks, but overall the Eastern Franks continued to take ground from their Turkish opponents. The lifeblood of the Crusader States was not the big crusading armies despatched irregularly to the east, but the steady flow of pilgrims, settlers, and smaller groups, generally arriving by sea, and willing to contribute to the defence of Jerusalem. Among the larger parties of seaborne allies was a force led by King Sigurd of Norway whose forces assisted the Franks in conquering the port of Sidon on the Levantine coast in 1110.

The next major crisis occurred in 1119 when Antiochene forces, which had formerly been on the verge of seizing the major city of Aleppo, suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Turkman forces at the enigmatically named 'battle of the Field of Blood'. Antioch was thoroughly raided in the months that followed and plumes of smoke, rising up above the burning principality, were visible as far away as Cilicia on the other side of the Amanus mountain range. Like the battle of Harran, this defeat resulted in an appeal to Western Christendom for crusaders and on this occasion it was the Venetians who responded.

The Italian cities had many strong reasons to involve themselves in the affairs of the Crusader States. They were enthusiastic crusaders and they had already sent ships to support the Eastern Franks. While their pious commitment to the crusading cause should be taken seriously, they also stood to gain commercially from the immensely valuable trade routes which crossed the region. Merchants bearing goods from distant China and India (the Silk and Spice routes) travelled through the Middle East while other very valuable commodities were produced locally, including metalwork, glass, and ceramics. The Levantine coastlands were also conducive for the production of sugar, which commanded a high price in Western Christendom. In the event, the Venetian fleet, supported by other crusading contingents, arrived in May 1123 and almost immediately won a major naval victory over the Fatimid fleet. They then worked with the kingdom of Jerusalem—in exchange for extensive trading privileges—to conquer the port of Tyre (1124); a city that was both valuable in its own right and which strengthened the shipping lanes connecting the Crusader States to Western Christendom.

The fall of Tyre marked the complete Frankish conquest of the Levantine coast from Cilicia in the north down to Ascalon (still in Fatimid hands) in the south. Some of the region's best agricultural lands lay along the coastal plain while the major port cities of

Latakia, Tripoli, Tyre, and Acre enjoyed substantial trading revenues. The kingdom of Jerusalem's forces had also penetrated further east, asserting their dominance over the Transjordan region. Armed with these increased resources, the current king of Jerusalem, Baldwin II, was in a position to attempt a major military advance: the conquest of Damascus. Previously, this had been too ambitious an undertaking, but now Baldwin evidently deemed it possible so in *c.*1127 he despatched agents to the west to raise new crusading forces to assist him in this endeavour. These reinforcements arrived in 1129 and attached themselves to the combined armies of the Crusader States. Cumulatively, this force posed a major threat to Damascus, but the result was a failure. The army advanced on Damascus, but a large raiding party was badly defeated and the crusaders became bogged down in winter rains. They had also hoped that the large Nizari Muslim community in Damascus would rise up in their favour as soon as they approached the city, but the city's Turkish ruler—aware of the danger—brutally massacred the Damascene Nizaris to prevent this from happening. Turkish antipathy towards the Nizaris was of long duration and they were widely persecuted in Seljuk territory.

The '1129 crusade' was a military failure and yet, while these crusader armies had been marshalling their forces in Western Christendom, a new phenomenon emerged which was to play an important role in shaping the crusading movement. This was the Knights Templar. Exactly when this organization first began is unclear and yet it seems that in the early years of the kingdom of Jerusalem a small group of knights dedicated themselves to the defence of pilgrims travelling to pilgrim sites across the Holy Land. Initially they enjoyed limited success, receiving only moderate support from local nobles and visiting crusaders. Nevertheless, when their leader Hugh of Payens set out for Christendom to recruit Baldwin II's crusade, this mission provided him with the opportunity to draw his institution to the attention of Christendom's elites. Swiftly his 'Templars' became a phenomenon as thousands of patrons from across the social spectrum either offered gifts or joined in person. Early benefactors included the pope and many churchmen who endorsed the Templars' military-religious vocation by approving its status as a fully-fledged religious order. The famous head of the Cistercian order, Bernard of Clairvaux, advocated strongly on their behalf, describing them both as defenders of Christendom and as the ideal expression of Christian knighthood, worthy of emulation by Christendom's military elites. By presenting the Templars as role models, Bernard was making use of the crusading movement not simply to wage war for the Holy Land but to bring social reform to Western Christendom, hoping to steer its warlike knights away from their local disputes and into a new social paradigm. The use of crusading as an instrument of social reform was not unprecedented and early expressions of this kind of agenda can be traced back to the First Crusade.

In the following decades, the Templars used their growing wealth and landholdings in Western Christendom to finance their labours in the Crusader States. The Templars expanded their role considerably, garrisoning many of the Crusader States' most embattled strongholds and supplying a substantial contingent for their main field

7. Templar knights drawn by the thirteenth-century chronicler, Matthew Paris.

armies. Other religious orders, following their precedent, assumed a military role, most notably the Hospital of John which had been founded in Jerusalem back in *c.*1070 to provide a hospice for pilgrims visiting the Holy Land. In later years the Hospitallers would conduct their military and medical work side by side, simultaneously fighting to defend Jerusalem while offering free medical care to all visitors (of any religion) in Jerusalem.

The 1130s and 1140s were marked, broadly speaking, by stability in the kingdom of Jerusalem, but in the north a new Turkish ruler called Zangi came to dominate much of Syria and the Jazira. Possessing the major cities of Mosul and Aleppo, as well as most of the intervening territory, the sheer scale of his powerbase pushed the principality of Antioch and the county of Edessa back onto the defensive. Zangi himself showed only sporadic interest in fighting the Franks, being more concerned with his Turkish rivals as well as other quasi-independent powers bordering his lands. Nevertheless, in 1144—seemingly concerned at a possible coalition being formed between the Edessans and a local Turkish dynasty—Zangi invaded and seized the city of Edessa. This sudden and unexpected reversal provoked the Crusader States into sending emissaries to Western Christendom seeking reinforcements. Their first approach was to the papacy and so on 1 December 1145 Pope Eugenius III instigated a new holy war to retake Edessa, setting out an emotive appeal to this end in the Crusade Bull, *Quantum praedecessores*. This bull set in train a series of recruitment efforts to raise the campaign commonly referred to today as the 'Second Crusade'. In *Quantum praedecessores*, Eugenius challenged Western Christendom's military classes to imitate their forebears on the First Crusade and to 'take the cross'. The objective was to retake Edessa and the response was considerable. Papal letters, preachers (including the

famous Bernard of Clairvaux), and other advocates criss-crossed Christendom raising new forces.

King Louis VII of France had also been approached for assistance and he first tried to raise crusading forces at the council of Bourges (December 1145) before more successfully mustering support at Vézelay several months later. Later King Conrad III of Germany also emerged as one of the main leaders in this endeavour. Other contingents set out both for the Holy Land and for other frontiers, including some who made war against the Muslims in Iberia and others against the pagans in the Baltic. As before, the crusaders set about making preparations for their departure, raising funds, purchasing supplies and baggage animals, and interceding with God for his blessing both for the crusaders and for the family members they left behind.

Like the first crusaders, Louis and Conrad chose to travel to the east overland and, like so many crusading armies, their first major destination was the Byzantine capital, Constantinople. Again, there were disagreements and disputes between the advancing crusaders and local communities during their journey. The crusaders complained about currency traders giving them a poor exchange rate and they were annoyed when the Byzantines failed to provide markets from which they could purchase food. The Byzantines for their part complained about the crusaders acting in a disorderly manner or seizing their crops and property. Nevertheless, the crusade's commanders had been careful to seek the Byzantines' permission before crossing their territory and they offered assurances to assuage any fears that the emperor, Manuel I Komnenos, might have at their approach. Their subsequent passage across Byzantine territory did not take place without incident or skirmishes but ultimately both Conrad and later Louis managed to negotiate their way across without provoking a major confrontation.

The crusading forces then tried their hand at crossing Turkish Anatolia; the most difficult phase of their journey. Conrad's army set out for Antioch choosing the most direct route via the Turkish city of Konya. His force however was quickly hedged about by swift-moving Turkish mounted archers who harassed his soldiers with continual attacks, ultimately routing his army with the loss of thousands of troops. Rumours abounded that the Byzantines had deliberately caused the German defeat by supplying the crusaders with guides who would lead their army into a trap, although it is unclear how seriously this accusation should be taken.

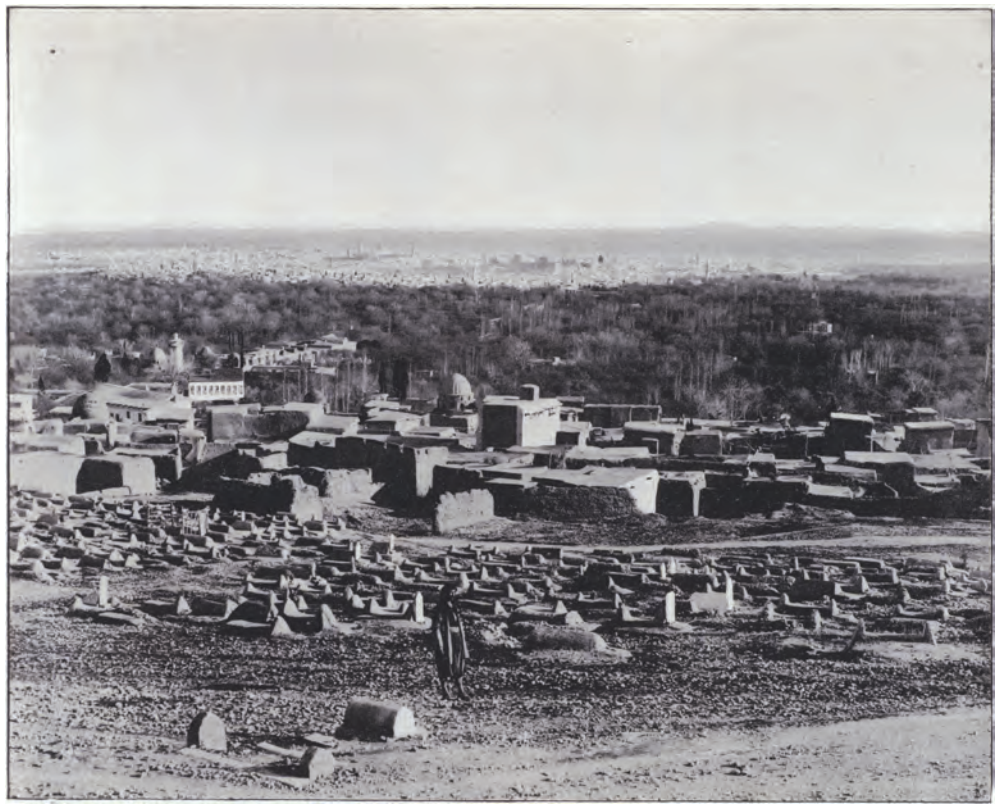
The French army fared only a little better. It chose to remain for as long as possible in Byzantine territory by taking the coast road around Anatolia's western seaboard. This march proved arduous and involved crossing many steep-sided valleys and rivers, but it enabled the French to cover a considerable distance in relative safety. Later, when Louis' army came under Turkish attack in the Meander valley, it scored a notable victory. However, these early successes were not sustained. While trying to cross Mount Cadmus the vanguard advanced too far, becoming separated from the main army. This blunder created an opening which the Turks were able to exploit, moving into the gap and advancing against the central contingents which were strung out over the long mountainous road. The French suffered heavy losses in the resulting encounter.

8. A later depiction of a mounted Turkish archer.

In the wake of this defeat, control over the army was handed to the Templars who decisively restructured the force, enabling it to limp into the Southern Anatolian port of Adalia. The decision to entrust the Templars with so important a task is highly significant. It served to acknowledge their expertise in Middle Eastern warfare, but it also represented a marker of just how much they had grown in power and reputation in recent decades. In later years, crusade commanders—fresh from Western Christendom and not accustomed to the exigencies of campaigning in the Near East—learned to lean heavily upon the military orders for advice when waging crusading campaigns.

Having reached Adalia, Louis and his nobles took ship for Antioch. Soon after his arrival in the principality, Louis came to see that he was in no position to attempt the reconquest of Edessa. His forces were too reduced and Antioch's prince, Raymond of Poitiers, was no friend to Edessan count, Joscelin II. Moreover, there were rumours of a liaison between Raymond and Louis' wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine. Whether this gossip was true or not, the two leaders evidently seem to have quarrelled and Louis travelled south to Jerusalem—no campaign would be launched to retake Edessa.

Louis reached the holy city to find that Conrad had arrived before him. Following his defeat in Anatolia, Conrad had accompanied Louis for part of his journey across Anatolia but then had become ill and returned to Constantinople. He then took ship for the kingdom of Jerusalem where he spent huge sums of money on mercenaries to augment his surviving crusaders. He had also taken the decision, apparently in discussion with King Baldwin III of Jerusalem and his mother Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, to stage a campaign against the city of Damascus. Soon after Louis' arrival, the leaders met once again in a council at Palmarea; a conference which served to confirm this target.



9. An early photograph (nineteenth century) of Damascus taken when the city was still surrounded by orchards.

Even so, the resulting expedition was another failure. The combined army advanced on Damascus and fought its way through the city's suburbs, gaining access to the river. The Franks then made camp but were swiftly surrounded by Turkman warriors, who had responded rapidly to this new threat. The crusaders became penned into their encampment and, when news arrived of major inbound Turkish reinforcements, they were forced to withdraw. Rumours circulated that the Eastern Franks had been bribed by the Damascenes to bring about this retreat. Louis and Conrad's expeditions ultimately came to nothing and achieved no advances for the Crusader States. Indeed, the army's lacklustre performance at Damascus seems to have inspired their Turkish opponents to deepen their commitment to *jihad* against the crusaders. The struggle against the Franks had been described as *jihad* sporadically by Islamic writers and leaders since the First Crusade, but it was during this period, following the Second Crusade and under the leadership of Zangi's son Nur al-Din, that such holy war ideas proliferated.

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The Second Crusade had the inverse effect on crusading enthusiasm in the west. When Louis VII returned to France, there were some attempts to marshal a new campaign, but these met with very little response, the most committed crusading dynasties seemingly not having the money, the troops, or the enthusiasm to muster their energies for a new campaign. The Second Crusade's longer term effect on crusading's popularity in Western Christendom is harder to read. In later years, the papacy laboured to raise new crusading forces, issuing formal appeals for crusades in 1157, 1165, 1166, 1169, 1181, and 1184–5. Meanwhile, Louis VII became besieged with requests for help from the Crusader States. As with the crusading expeditions raised in the early twelfth century, many of these crusades were launched in response to crises in the east, including the defeat of Jerusalem's army at Banyas in 1157, the Antiochene defeat at Harim in 1164, and the failure of Jerusalem's concerted efforts to conquer Egypt in the 1160s. Alongside these crusading appeals there was also a great deal of wrangling over whether King Henry II of England would go on crusade as a penance for his involvement in the murder of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury. Henry seems to have been genuinely committed to a crusade to Jerusalem but in the event he was unable to depart in person, even though he did send funds to raise knights in the east. For their part, the rulers of the Crusader States along with the Templars and Hospitallers did all that they could to galvanize western rulers into despatching assistance. They became inventive in their calls for help and, to take one example, in 1169 a delegation ceremoniously bestowed the keys of Jerusalem upon King Louis VII in the hope that this act would provoke him to retake the cross.

Despite these events, no king or emperor travelled to the Crusader States and no major crusading armies assembled. There was however a steady flow of leading noblemen from across Christendom, setting out for the east accompanied by substantial entourages. A few of these took the cross and journeyed to the Levant as part of a

formal crusading expedition, but many simply came as pilgrims. While in the east, some took part in military campaigning but even those who did not could still offer financial support, while their presence in the Holy Land supported by formidable entourages could serve as a deterrent for the Eastern Franks' foes. Examples of such magnates include: Count Thierry of Flanders (1157), Count William of Nevers (1168), Duke Henry 'the Lion' of Saxony (1172), and Count Philip of Flanders (1177). Naturally these pilgrim parties also wanted to visit the Holy Land's many sacred sites, particularly those connected to the life of Jesus and the events of the Bible. Some of these locations lay in dangerous locations and so parties were often escorted by Templars and Hospitallers. Pilgrims typically made donations to the region's many churches and some even chose to remain in the east. This was the case with Countess Sybil of Flanders in 1157 who chose not to return to the west with her husband Count Thierry of Flanders but decided to remain instead in the kingdom of Jerusalem as a nun at the convent of Bethany.

Making effective use of these visiting pilgrim and crusader groups could sometimes pose difficulties for the Crusader States and a persistent issue affecting several campaigns—small and large—was the challenge of integrating newly arrived nobles from Western Europe who might have very different ideas to those of the Eastern Franks. For example, in 1157 a Frankish army was on the verge of conquering the town of Shaizar when it became known that the king of Jerusalem had promised the town to the visiting lord, the abovementioned Thierry of Flanders. This news angered the prince of Antioch who felt that it was not the king of Jerusalem's prerogative to grant lands which fell within Antioch's sphere of influence. Thierry seems to have been offered the alternative solution that he could rule Shaizar with the prince of Antioch as overlord, but he baulked at the idea claiming he would only swear loyalty to a king and not to a mere prince. The siege collapsed soon afterwards.

Other problems surfaced during a subsequent expedition led by Thierry's son, Count Philip of Flanders in 1177–8. On this occasion he arrived to find that the kingdom of Jerusalem was preparing for an attack on Egypt and that there was a Byzantine fleet standing ready to support the Eastern Franks in this venture. Philip however refused to take part. He also refused an offer to become the kingdom's regent (the reigning king, Baldwin IV, was prevented by his illness from ruling at this time). In the event, partly as a result of Philip's conduct, the invasion of Egypt never took place. Philip was later persuaded to make war in the north with the prince of Antioch, but he achieved very little. He besieged the stronghold of Harim but was unable to take it. Again, his actions highlight how a newly arrived lord's aspirations could be very different from the hopes and ambitions of the Eastern Franks—as well as the difficulties these issues could cause for those seeking to carry out military campaigns.

It is tempting to assign Christendom's rather limited commitment to the defence of the Crusader States in these years to the legacy of the Second Crusade, but the idea that Louis and Conrad's failed crusade derailed the crusading movement for over a generation rather overstates its impact. There were a series of big wars being fought out

across Christendom at this time and it seems likely that these consumed the energies of fighters who might otherwise have served in the Crusader States. The Templars and Hospitallers remained popular, suggesting that patrons continued to value their vocation and, by extension, the needs of the east. The Crusader States were also more accessible than they ever had been. In the 1160s the Anatolian Seljuk Turks, driven by fear of Nur al-Din's rising power to the south, closely allied themselves to the Crusader States and they also worked to build their relationships with the papacy and the German Empire. In this clement political climate, it was possible for pilgrims to cross Anatolia in relative safety.

The papacy also sought to enable more people to depart on crusade by ensuring that crusaders' families and lands would be protected during their prolonged absence (often about three years). Over time legal provisions were enacted by both the Church and secular rulers for this purpose becoming more specific and detailed, particularly under Pope Eugenius III during the Second Crusade, with later pontiffs following his example. Such regulations could also be vigorously enforced both by churchmen and secular lords and examples survive from the 1160s of leading churchmen either excommunicating or severely punishing those who infringed absent crusaders' rights.

At a local level, the task of governing a crusaders' lands and interests generally fell to a designated regent. This was often the crusader's wife or another family member, sometimes a leading official. For example, when Count Henry of Champagne set out for the Holy Land in 1179 (returning in 1181), his wife Marie acted as regent, managing affairs across the county and remaining in communication with her husband—as much as possible—during his absence. The role of regent became more difficult if the crusader died on campaign, requiring them then to manage the uncertainties of the succession. Needless to say, despite these safeguards, there were still plenty of occasions when crusaders returned home to find trouble waiting for them and, despite the Church's best efforts to reduce this element of risk, going on crusade was always a gamble particularly for those leaving enemies behind them.

While a family's most obvious concern was to maintain their interests while the crusaders were away, they were also expected to show spiritual support for their absent kin. It would have been very natural for them to pray for their loved ones' protection and health, but towards the end of this period the Church was actively encouraging people in Western Christendom to render spiritual support for crusaders. For example, Pope Gregory VIII encouraged the faithful to abstain from meat on Wednesdays and Saturdays and to eschew luxuries. This was a society where sinful or righteous conduct was deemed to be a crucial factor in determining the outcome of military enterprises and so the objective here was for people to address their own moral conduct so that sin did not become a barrier preventing God from supporting the campaign.

On many occasions during the twelfth century, crusading expeditions were launched following moments of crisis in the Crusader States, but this would never be more true than in 1187. In July of this year, King Guy of Jerusalem suffered a massive military defeat at the battle of Hattin. The victor in this conflict was Saladin, a Kurdish

commander who had risen to become sultan of Egypt shortly after the conquest of Cairo by Nur al-Din's general Shirkuh (Saladin's uncle). Subsequently, following Nur al-Din's death in 1174, Saladin usurped much of his former master's territory in Syria before turning these lands' combined might against the kingdom of Jerusalem. By 1187 Saladin had become so powerful that the kingdom had been compelled to consolidate all available troops to raise an army big enough to meet him in battle. The result was a total annihilation in the hill country above the town of Tiberias. The Frankish army was destroyed and, bereft of defenders, Saladin swept into the kingdom. Jerusalem fell in October and Saladin's army then went north, substantially reducing both the county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch. When his campaigns of conquest were over, the Franks were left with only a few coastal cities and a handful of fortresses.

Such losses would not be left unanswered for long and in October 1187 Pope Gregory VIII issued a new crusade bull entitled *Audita tremendi*, calling upon the Christian faithful to respond to the defeat at Hattin. This was the beginning of the Third Crusade. The response to the papal summons was enormous and—in time—many of Christendom's foremost leaders took the cross including: Emperor Frederick I of Germany, Philip II of France, and Richard I of England. These rulers set about making peace and raising funds so as to enable their departure. While these major

10. The Horns of Hattin.

armies were forming, other smaller contingents set out for the east, seeking to prop up the remnants of the Crusader States.

Forces arriving during or after the summer of 1189 reached the Levant to find that King Guy of Jerusalem had been released from captivity and was now in the process of attempting to restore some part of his fallen kingdom. He had been able to raise a small army and with this force he had advanced against the city of Acre (which had been lost to Saladin almost immediately after Hattin). Acre was a major port and so its recovery was a priority given its importance in strengthening communications with Western Christendom. Guy's venture looked doomed to failure from the start and his troops were soon surrounded and besieged in their own encampment outside Acre's walls by Saladin's main field army. Nevertheless, Guy's army swelled steadily with the arrival of tens of small crusading companies from across Christendom. Soon Guy was able to meet Saladin on equal terms and to press hard against Acre's defenders. As with crusaders from across this period, these were generally regional contingents from Western Christendom led by local lords, bishops, and leading families.

While Guy was entrenching himself outside Acre, the first of Christendom's major field armies had reached the borders of Byzantine territory. These were the forces of Emperor Frederick I of Germany. Like so many commanders, he opted to take the overland route to the east, travelling via Constantinople and Anatolia. This choice of route necessitated negotiating passage with both the Byzantines and the Anatolian Seljuks. Frederick's relations with Constantinople had been troubled in recent decades and these underlying rivalries, coupled with rumours that Emperor Isaac II Angelos was in league with Saladin, soon re-emerged when the German army entered Byzantine territory. Fighting broke out, with Frederick decisively gaining the upper hand

11. The city of Acre.

almost immediately. Eventually, in February 1190 Emperor Isaac II conceded a treaty promising to aid the crusaders and to offer no further barriers to their progress.

Frederick seems to have hoped for a more peaceful crossing of Anatolia and previously he had enjoyed relatively positive relations with the sultanate. Back in 1188 he had advised Sultan Kilij Arslan II of his proposed expedition and in February 1190 the sultan sent envoys confirming his readiness to enable Frederick's crossing of Seljuk territory. The problem was that the sultanate at that time was in a state of civil war between Kilij Arslan II and his son Kutb al-Din. Kutb al-Din and his allies were intent on blocking the crusaders' advance and the situation soon devolved into a major conflict, which again Frederick's forces won decisively even seizing the Seljuk capital of Konya. By the time he reached friendly Armenian territory, Frederick could congratulate himself on having completed one of the most successful crossings of Anatolia performed by any crusading army. This forward momentum came to an abrupt halt however on 10 June 1190 when Frederick died while crossing the river Saleph: He seems to have fallen into the water and suffered cardiac arrest. His son, Frederick of Swabia, took over command, but the army was then hit badly with disease when it reached Antioch. Of those who remained, some chose to stay in Antioch and the remainder took ship for Acre under Frederick of Swabia's leadership. Frederick later died on 20 January 1191 in the crusader encampment outside Acre.

The German crusade ultimately failed to achieve its goals, but it did have a significant afternote. During his sojourn outside Acre, Frederick of Swabia offered support to a small German hospice erected by pilgrims who had reached the siege by ship from the cities of Bremen and Lübeck. He could not have known it at the time, but this hospice would grow to become a major military order, known as the Teutonic Knights, which in time would come to rival the more established Templars and Hospitallers.

Throughout these events, the fighting continued to rage outside Acre, with the Christians slowly expanding their position as new reinforcements poured in by sea from the west. The most significant of these were the forces of Philip II of France (arrived 20 April 1191) and Richard I of England (arrived 8 June 1191). Richard's journey to the east was especially eventful. Following comprehensive preparations, during which he is said to have quipped that he would sell London if necessary, Richard's forces set out on crusade, intending to reach the siege of Acre by sea. Philip II also chose to take ship for the Holy Land rather than risking the long roads through Byzantium. There were strong reasons why they should do so. The military disasters of the 1101 crusade and the Second Crusade had vividly demonstrated the difficulties involved in crossing Anatolia, while the staunch resistance shown to Frederick by the Byzantines might have served as an additional deterrent. Naturally, travelling by sea brought its own problems including shipwreck, contrary winds, as well as the costs involved in hiring the requisite shipping, but it was probably the safer option and almost certainly less arduous.

Travelling by ship also addressed a logistical-military problem that had frequently challenged army commanders moving crusading armies by road—this was the

question of how to feed, protect, and accommodate the thousands of non-combatant pilgrims who always attached themselves to crusading armies. Such groups simply could not join a well-regulated fleet where they would be barred from boarding any vessel without permission; a point which freed commanders from the burden of providing for their sustenance and defence.

Aside from a small advance party which Richard sent to the Holy Land, the first major rendezvous for the bulk of Richard and Philip's armies was on Sicily. Some of Richard's troops travelled to the island from England via the Straits of Gibraltar while Richard himself travelled through France, taking ship from Marseilles down the Italian coast to Salerno and from there to Messina on Sicily. He arrived in late September 1190.

Philip II hired ships from Genoa to carry his crusading army. It was fairly common in this period for crusade commanders to hire ships from the Italian cities (particularly Genoa, Pisa, and Venice) to reach the Holy Land. Fleets belonging to these cities were in constant commerce with the Eastern Mediterranean so their sailors were familiar with the region and its geography.

By the time the French and English forces had assembled on Sicily it was already too late to set out for the Levant. The winter storms were setting in and medieval ships lacked the resilience to withstand the season's heavy weather. Consequently, the combined armies wintered on Sicily and Richard used the opportunity to settle personal scores. The island's ruler, William II, had recently died in 1189 and his widow was Richard's sister Joanna. Richard took the opportunity afforded by his presence on Sicily to demand the return of Joanna's dowry from the island's new ruler, Tancred of Lecce. Tancred refused to do so and fighting broke out soon afterwards. This conflict ended when Richard's forces seized the major city of Messina on 4 October 1190. This defeat persuaded Tancred to yield the dowry, which naturally augmented Richard's crusading war chest. Joanna herself joined her brother on crusade.

Richard's conquest of Messina also strained relations with Philip II. Richard and Philip were old adversaries and their alliance on crusade was the product of lengthy diplomatic negotiations. This was a familiar problem for crusading armies where the participants' shared sense of religious commitment represented only a thin veneer of common purpose covering a host of longstanding rivalries, disputes, and regional tensions. Frequently, it was necessary for crusaders from all social levels to make peace with their adversaries in Western Christendom to enable them to make the long journey to Jerusalem. The same was true for Richard and Philip and back in early July 1190 they settled their differences at Vézelay, crucially promising that they would share whatever plunder might be won during the campaign. It did not take long for this agreement to come under pressure. After the fall of Messina, Philip demanded his share of the spoils (following the terms of the Vézelay agreement). Richard was probably tempted to refuse—Philip had not supported him in bringing about the city's fall so why should he share its plunder? There were the makings here of a major rupture, but the Templars and Hospitallers intervened, offering to hold Messina themselves; thereby acting as a 'third party'. The intervention of the military orders in this way is

another common feature of crusading campaigns and they frequently adopted the role of peacemaker between rival crusading factions.

With the opening of the spring sailing season, the crusading armies departed. Philip's fleet left on 30 March and Richard's on 10 April. Richard's next actions were of great consequence for the Crusader States. As the crusader fleet approached the Levant, some of Richard's ships were shipwrecked on Cyprus while another vessel carrying Richard's sister Joanna and his future wife Berengaria of Navarre was driven into the island's coastal waters. Cyprus' governor, a Byzantine rebel called Isaac Komnenos, responded by trying to capture as many of these crusaders as possible, provoking Richard to invade. In a swift campaign staged during May 1191, Richard's soldiers secured the entire island and Isaac was imprisoned. The conquest of Cyprus was a brief affair and yet, strategically, its conquest had long-term implications. Cyprus would remain in Catholic Christian hands until the sixteenth century and, during the thirteenth century especially, it would become an important supply base and staging point for the crusades fought on the Levantine mainland.

Richard finally arrived at the siege of Acre in June. Reinforced by these newly arrived crusading armies—and after some heavy fighting—Acre's defenders were forced to come to terms on 12 July. Philip II's contribution to the Third Crusade did not extend much beyond Acre's fall and he returned to France on 3 August. Philip had been unwell at the siege of Acre and relations with Richard remained tense. Moreover, he needed to manage the succession to the county of Flanders following the death of its count at the siege of Acre. Exactly which of these reasons underpinned his decision to depart is unclear, but whatever the reality, his withdrawal from the crusade provoked a great deal of criticism. Participation in a major crusade was a high-profile act with commentators from Western Christendom watching the conduct of the main protagonists with the closest attention; Philip's sudden departure was a gift to his enemies' propagandists. With Philip's departure, control over the French contingent passed to the duke of Burgundy. Richard in turn became the combined army's overall commander although he now faced the challenge of holding together a mixed force comprised of troops from across Christendom, many of whom were former enemies. Matters were complicated still further by the existence of two major rival contenders—Guy of Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat—vying with one another for rule over the kingdom of Jerusalem, or what was left of it.

With Acre restored to Frankish control, Richard wanted to set out south towards Jerusalem, via the port city of Jaffa. Nevertheless, the terms of Acre's surrender agreement remained unfulfilled. The deal had been that Richard would receive a large sum of money, the True Cross (taken at the battle of Hattin), and many Frankish prisoners and in return he would release Saladin's Acre garrison. This was an awkward situation because Saladin had not made the agreement himself, yet its terms demanded a huge outlay on his part. After years of warfare he may also have lacked the funds to fulfil the agreement's obligations. Negotiations went back and forth but eventually on 20 August, Richard—seemingly fearing that Saladin was

deliberately playing for time so as to stall the crusaders' advance—ordered most of Acre's garrison to be publicly executed.

Almost immediately afterwards, Richard set out south along the coast road towards the port of Jaffa, shadowed by supply ships cruising just offshore. En route Saladin attempted to harass the marching crusading army but was unable to block their advance. On 7 September Saladin made a more serious attempt to defeat the advancing Christian army at Arsuf, but in the resulting encounter he suffered a major battlefield defeat. The army reached Jaffa soon afterwards. At this point the most obvious course was to strike inland, towards Jerusalem. Jaffa was Jerusalem's major port so this would have been entirely logical. Nevertheless, Richard seems to have been toying with another possibility—the conquest of Egypt.

The ambition of conquering Egypt dates all the way back to the First Crusade when the idea was first touted but not acted upon. In the early years of the Crusader States, Baldwin I seems to have taken seriously the idea of conquering Egypt and in 1118 he conducted a reconnaissance into the Nile Delta, during which he died. In event, no major invasion ever took place, presumably because the kingdom of Jerusalem lacked the resources to contemplate so gargantuan an enterprise. The idea, however, was resurrected in the late 1150s when the kingdom was at its height and in the 1160s King Amalric of Jerusalem staged five major incursions into the Nile Delta with precisely this intent. The allure of Egypt lay in its wealth. The Nile Delta produced a large proportion of the region's cereal crops while a great deal of trade, including goods from the Indian

12. The mausoleum of Saladin in Damascus.

Ocean region and Sub-Saharan Africa, passed through the major ports of Alexandria and Damietta. Control Egypt, and the Frankish position in Syria was guaranteed.

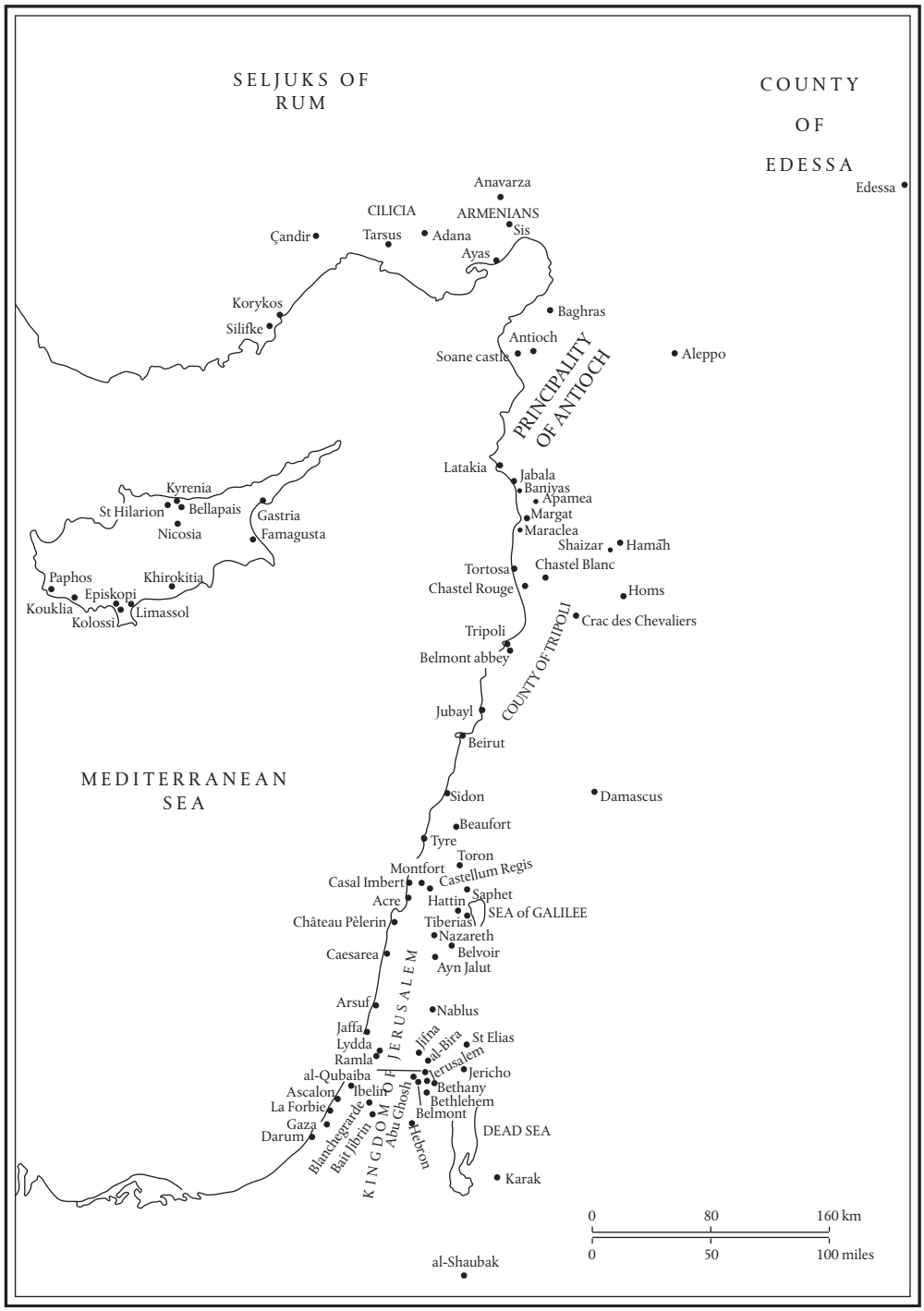
This thought weighed heavily in Richard I's strategy. He recognized that, even if he could conquer the holy city, the kingdom of Jerusalem's remaining territory (Tyre and Acre) was not strong enough to maintain control over Jerusalem in the long term, particularly in the face of Saladin's determined opposition. If Richard could conquer Egypt, however, the Eastern Franks would possess sufficient resources to maintain themselves permanently while Saladin's empire, deprived of Egypt, would be substantially weakened.

Richard was serious about this option and indeed Egypt would loom large as a crusading target for later commanders in the thirteenth century, but in the event the venture was never attempted. The weight of opinion in the crusading camp was firmly in favour of an immediate advance on Jerusalem—irrespective of the strategic problems surrounding its long-term retention. After all, the reconquest of Jerusalem was their primary objective and many crusaders were determined not to be deflected from this goal. At the end of October, therefore, Richard advanced inland towards Jerusalem but it was late in the campaigning season and he soon became bogged down in heavy rains while his forces came under repeated attack. Saladin also played for time, keeping Richard talking in a series of negotiations that punctuated the entire crusade. Eventually in early January 1192 Richard withdrew to the now-ruined city of Ascalon which his army proceeded to refortify.

During the spring the crusaders launched a series of attacks out of Ascalon on the roads connecting Saladin's Egyptian and Syrian territories, thereby imperilling the sultan's supply lines. In June 1192 the decision was taken to advance once again against Jerusalem and, during the early phases of this march, Richard landed a particularly heavy blow against Saladin when he ambushed and destroyed a large convoy of reinforcements hurrying from Egypt to join Saladin's main army. Legend reports that during his second march on the holy city, Richard came within sight of Jerusalem's walls—but he got no closer. The tactical and strategic problems surrounding a siege of Jerusalem—a largely waterless region—had not changed and the issue of how the city would be protected in the long term remained unanswered. On 4 July 1192, Richard decided to retreat, returning to Acre.

Emboldened by Richard's withdrawal, Saladin moved to assault the port of Jaffa. If successful, he would effectively have separated Richard's conquests around Ascalon from the Northern Frankish cities of Acre and Tyre. Viewed from Saladin's perspective, this should have been an easy victory. Jaffa's fortifications were not especially substantial, nor was its garrison large. Nevertheless, on learning of the siege, Richard hurried to Jaffa by ship with a small force. He was then able to conduct a successful beach assault on Saladin's advanced positions on 1 August and then to hold out against a major assault launched by Saladin a few days later.

By this stage Richard had been seeking to extricate himself from the crusading campaign for some time—aware that trouble was being stirred up for him by his



Map 2. The Latin East.

brother John back in Western Christendom—but he wanted to ensure that his hard-won gains in the east would be preserved. Following his defeat at Jaffa, Saladin was prepared to yield enough ground to satisfy Richard. An agreement was hammered out between these two leaders in the treaty of Jaffa (2 September 1192). According to its terms, the Franks would retain the coastal strip from Tyre to Jaffa, but they agreed to demolish Ascalon. There would be peace between these embattled factions for three years and traders were to pass freely between their lands. The Third Crusade therefore ended in compromise. Neither side had achieved its goals. Richard, despite many victories on the battlefield, had failed to reconquer Jerusalem. Saladin, for his part, had managed to absorb the full weight of multiple crusading armies and he had maintained control of Jerusalem, but the Crusader States had been at least partially rebuilt. The Franks had not been driven out. Neither side was victorious and neither side was defeated. In a sense, perhaps both Saladin and Richard were the victors because tales of their epic duel would continue to be told for centuries; their reputations as the history makers of their day were guaranteed.

In the shorter term, the Franks had failed to recover Jerusalem, but their ambition to achieve this goal had not faded and there was still plenty of determination to bring about the rebuilding of the Crusader States. For his part, Saladin's empire remained intact but it was exhausted by the war and the sultan himself died in 1193. In the decades that followed the crusaders sought to rebuild their position, working out from the lands secured by the treaty of Jaffa. Saladin's empire (known as the Ayyubid Empire) by contrast fell into disorder and infighting among his heirs, who also became embroiled in war with the Anatolian Seljuks. During the thirteenth century, new factions made their presence felt and the Mongol advances into the Near East, as well as the arrival of many peoples displaced by the Mongol campaigns, fundamentally changed the geo-politics of the region. The struggle for the Middle East would go on.

CHAPTER 3

The Latin East, 1098–1291

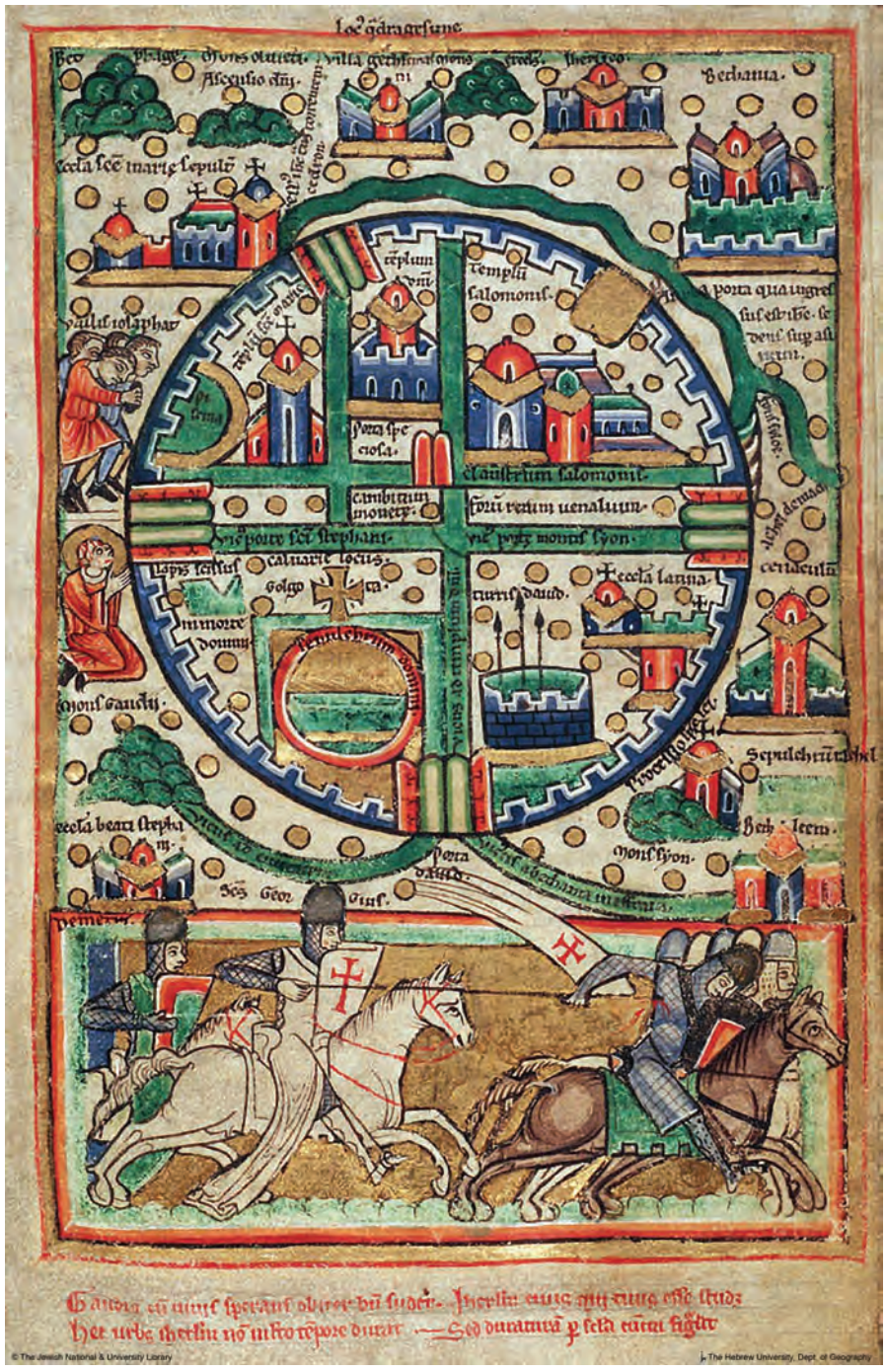
JONATHAN PHILLIPS

THE First Crusade established a Latin Christian presence on the Eastern Mediterranean seaboard which lasted for almost 200 years. The expedition contained contingents from many areas of Europe, including Flanders, Normandy, Provence, Sicily, and Genoa. Notwithstanding their different origins, the crusaders who settled in the Levant were identified by the word 'Franks' by contemporary Muslims and Latins in the east. The capture of Cyprus in 1191 strengthened their community in the region and the island remained a Christian outpost long after the fall of the mainland settlements. Following the Fourth Crusade's sack of Constantinople in 1204 the victors took control of most of the former Byzantine Empire. The Byzantines recovered much of their territory quite rapidly but Venetian Crete and the Latin principality of Achaea survived for several centuries. Each of these western settlements had a distinctive identity. This chapter will examine their origins, their character, and the different ways in which the Franks imposed their rule on the conquered lands.

The Latin East, 1098–1187

A month after the capture of Jerusalem in July 1099 the crusaders fought off an attack by the Fatimid Egyptian army at the battle of Ascalon. At this point, with the immediate danger over, the majority of the crusader forces, utterly exhausted after their four-year campaign, left for home. They had fulfilled their vows and recovered Christ's city. For those who remained, a new series of challenges opened up. Fulcher of Chartres, an eyewitness, vividly conveyed the multiple anxieties of those early years:

> The land of Jerusalem remained depopulated. There were not enough people to defend it from the Saracens if only the latter dared to attack us. But why did they not dare?…For we did not at that time have more than 300 knights and as many footmen to defend Jerusalem, Jaffa, Ramla and Haifa…We were in need of nothing if only men and horses did not fail us. (Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, ed. H.S. Fink, tr. F. R. Ryan (Knoxville TN, 1969), pp. 149–50)



1. The Hague Map (*c.*1170).

Yet in several respects the Franks were fortunate. A powerful impetus behind the success of the First Crusade was the shared aspiration of the religious and military classes to capture Jerusalem. This affinity between the spiritual and the secular was not present in the Muslim Near East at the time of the First Crusade, a disconnect that proved a major factor in answering the question that Fulcher of Chartres posed above. The 1090s saw the death of a generation of able political rulers, an upheaval that produced political chaos across the region. Jerusalem, as the most extreme case, had been ruled by Turkic Ortuqid Sunnis in 1098, was taken by Egyptian Fatimids Shiʿites in July 1098, and a year later by the First Crusaders. Antioch was ruled by the Byzantines down to 1084 and then the Seljuk Turks until 1098 when the crusaders took the city. This all speaks to a fluidity which the Franks were able to exploit a situation that gave them the opportunity to start putting down roots.

Strategic and economic considerations dictated that the crusaders' main priority was to conquer the coastal cities of the Levant because ports constituted the vital lifeline back to the west for traders, pilgrims, crusaders, and new settlers. In 1101 Arsuf and Caesarea fell, in 1104 Haifa and Acre were taken, in 1110 Beirut and Sidon, and in 1124 Tyre. Bringing these under Frankish control encouraged Western Europeans to visit and, more importantly, for some of them to remain in the region. The establishment of Frankish authority over inland areas was a slower process and the eastern spread of the Christian settlements was checked and sometimes countered by neighbouring Muslim powers. By 1109, however, the Franks had set up four so-called Crusader States: The county of Edessa, the principality of Antioch, the county of Tripoli, and the kingdom of Jerusalem.

As the Franks became part of the local geopolitical landscape their strategy had to reflect the realities of life in the Near East. Some Europeans, especially those from the Italian trading cities and Norman Sicily, were familiar with the region on account of commerce and a few had visited as pilgrims, but because the crusaders had conquered and settled in the Holy Land the relationship between the Franks and the indigenous population was very different to that in any of their previous encounters. At first, the capture of cities were often marked by massacres, but it soon became apparent that this was counterproductive. The Franks had taken control of a large area of land; certainly too much for them to occupy with their own people. Although a steady flow of westerners came to settle, as Fulcher of Chartres had complained, it was obvious that there was insufficient manpower. In consequence the Franks' approach to the local population had to change. At Sidon in 1110 the Muslims negotiated the opportunity to remain on their land and to cultivate it for the benefit of the Franks. Further north, Prince Tancred of Antioch was so concerned that native labourers should stay in place that he arranged for the wives of local workers to return from Aleppo where they had fled for safety. The rhetoric of the First Crusade preachers that urged the removal of 'unclean' races who 'polluted' the holy sites, needed to be tempered, even if this meant—at times—forming alliances with local Muslim groups. In 1115, for example, the prince of Antioch, Roger of Salerno, joined with Il-Ghazi of Mardin and Tughtigin

2. The Georgian Monastery of the Cross, Jerusalem.

of Damascus to fight Ridwan of Aleppo. This seems deeply incompatible with the ideals of the First Crusade but however contradictory it may appear, pragmatism—in both peace and war—was sometimes required.

The crusaders ruled an area inhabited by a bewildering variety of races and creeds. Some regions in the north, such as Edessa and Antioch, had large Christian populations. In the case of the former, mostly Armenians, in the latter mainly Greek Orthodox, a legacy of the recent Byzantine rule. The county of Tripoli (most of which would today lie in Lebanon) had a large Christian Maronite population, while further distinct sects such as the Druze and the Samaritans existed in the central highland region too. Many of the rural areas of the kingdom of Jerusalem were inhabited by Sunni Muslims while urban areas were much more polyglot with Muslims, Christians of multiple denominations including Orthodox (known as Melkites who spoke Greek or Arabic), Georgians, and Jacobites, as well as a small Jewish population.

The Franks adopted an attitude of relative tolerance towards other creeds, whether they were eastern Christian, Jewish, or Muslim. All were permitted to practise their faith, albeit under certain restrictions; for example, Muslims and Jews could visit Jerusalem, but in theory were not allowed to reside in the holy city. These two groups formed the lowest level of society in the Latin East, at least when it was expressed in legal terms. Above them were the eastern Christians and at the top, the Catholic Franks. Of the native Christians, the monophysite Jacobites, Armenians, Georgians, and Maronites (before 1181 when their Church joined with Rome) were allowed to preserve their religious autonomy. The Georgian presence in Jerusalem was (and still is) marked by the Monastery of the Holy Cross, commemorating the site where the tree

from which the wood of Christ's cross originally came. Surviving documents show this foundation received patronage from Frankish nobles and the Knights Templar, indicating close relations between these different Christian groups.

News of the pogroms in the Rhineland had caused the Jewish population in the Levant to fear the arrival of the First Crusade. Many chose to resist the invasion and fought and died alongside the Muslims in the early years of the conquest. Once the situation had calmed down, however, most opted to live in urban areas controlled by the Franks. Like all non-Catholics they could not hold fiefs, but many were farmers; others were involved in trades such as dyeing and glassmaking. On several counts the Jews in the Latin East were treated much better than their counterparts in Western Europe. They could practise their religion in relative freedom and they were not subjected to crude dress regulations compelling them to wear badges or specially coloured clothing which advertised their faith and invited hostility and segregation. It is notable that no anti-Jewish pogroms took place in the Latin East, in contrast to the situation in the west.

In recent years, historians have drawn attention to the level of interaction between eastern Christians and the Franks, a relationship that ranged across many aspects of life including marriage, the sharing of villages, and, as we will see later in the chapter, art, law, and learning. Intermarriage took place, particularly in the county of Edessa because many of the population were Armenian. The native nobility were seen as worthy marriage partners, the most prominent example being Baldwin of Edessa's wedding to Morphia of Melitene who, once her husband succeeded to the throne in 1118 as King Baldwin II, became queen of Jerusalem.

While large numbers of settlers inhabited urban areas, the traditional stereotype of most of the Franks living safely in their castles or cities is not entirely accurate. Archaeological research has shown that a significant percentage of them occupied villages and manor houses and in some places, usually those with an indigenous Christian population, Franks and eastern Christians lived alongside one another sharing the use of a church, as at St George above Tiberias. From time to time we can detect the creation of new villages, manifest by their well-ordered layout, rather than a more organic format evolved over the centuries. To incentivize settlers, new

3. Seal of Morphia, queen of Jerusalem.

arrivals at Casal Imbert north of Acre were given land for a house by the king in return for one-seventh of all crops and 25 per cent of the vineyards and orchards; they also received exemptions in the market of Acre and free use of a nearby mill. Having noted the polyglot nature of the indigenous population, it is worth remembering that the western settlers themselves came from many different places. A document from the village of Magna Mahomeria reveals the identity of forty-four immigrants, mostly from Central France, a few from the south, and some Italians and Catalans.

The coastal plains of the Levant are fertile areas capable of supporting a range of crops; inland regions such as the district around the Sea of Galilee also yield plentiful harvests. A favourable climate and the use of old Roman aqueducts and irrigation channels allowed the farmers to complement their main output of cereals with fast-growing summer crops such as millet and maize. Olives, vineyards, and orchards were well known to westerners but in the course of the twelfth century we see the Franks increasingly involved in the production of local crops, especially sugar. As the armies of the First Crusade advanced southwards they encountered and enjoyed the sweet-tasting cane, or 'wood honey' as they called it. The settlers realized there was a strong export market for it in the west which meant that the cultivation of sugarcane—as evidenced by the survival of many presses—rapidly increased. What this shows, therefore, is that the Franks adapted to their new environment and engaged with the local population. Other small-scale industries might be found in rural areas, such as iron-ore mining in Edessa, or extensive eel production in the large freshwater lake east of Antioch; eels were important because they sidestepped prohibitions on eating meat during the many religious festivals and were, therefore, in great demand from religious houses, including the military orders.

As far as the native peasantry—both eastern Christian and Muslim—were concerned, apart from the change in overlord, it appears that little had changed. After the initial brutality of the conquest the Franks usually treated the indigenous peasants well, principally on account of their economic importance. The Muslims had to pay revenue based on the traditional Islamic *kharaj*, which could be up to one-third of arable crops and one-half of the produce from vineyards and olive groves. Ibn Jubayr, a Spanish Muslim pilgrim who travelled through the area near Acre in 1184 was astonished to find 'continuous farms and ordered settlements whose inhabitants were all Muslims living comfortably with the Franks.'

In some instances contact between Muslims and Christians developed further and on rare occasions there is evidence that close relationships formed. For example, Usama ibn Munqidh, a contemporary Muslim poet and diplomat, was friendly with a group of Templars who protected him from harassment by an overzealous westerner. This incident also demonstrates how crusaders might find it hard to reconcile the settlers' ability to coexist with the Muslims at some times and to fight holy wars against them at others.

While the basic functioning of agricultural life continued largely undisturbed the urban centres of the Frankish east developed dramatically. Jerusalem had a population

4. Medieval wine press.

of around 30,000 by the mid-twelfth century, although an influx of pilgrims would hugely increase that over the late spring and summer. The presence of the royal household, the headquarters of the military orders, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the dozens of other churches in and around the city gave it a particular prestige and prompted the construction or modification of many buildings. Markets grew in size with Queen Melisende instigating a series of properly covered shopping streets, while new houses, hospitals, and bath houses also grew up.

The ports of the Latin East became thriving commercial centres that attracted a substantial volume of international trade. Tyre and Acre were outlets for the trade routes of the orient and the Frankish settlements' position as a meeting point between east and west meant that the mercantile cities of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice took great interest in them. The Italians appreciated the settlers' need for naval help to conquer the coastal strip and they made sure to extract a price for their support. In return for their participation in the siege of Tyre in 1123–4 the Venetians negotiated rights to one-third of the city and its territories, and numerous privileges regarding fiscal and judicial immunity. In consequence of arrangements concluded in other cities, the merchant communities usually occupied their own clearly demarcated districts. The Genoese quarter in Acre, for example, contained a central square bordered by the church of St Lawrence (Genoa's patron saint) and a palace containing a law court. The district also had its own fortified gateways, as well as bakehouses, shops, and accommodation for visiting merchants. The Italians' commercial instincts could stand in tension with

5. A Venetian transport ship.

their religious affiliations, but they had traded with Islamic Spain and North Africa long before the First Crusade and continued to do so after 1099. The difficulty arose in their seeming willingness to ignore papal prohibitions on selling the Muslims raw materials used for war, yet without Italian shipping providing a crucial lifeline to the west the Latin settlements would fail. After the capture of Jerusalem the number of Europeans who wanted to travel to the Holy Land as pilgrims and crusaders rose dramatically. These visitors gave a significant boost to the economy, both by spending money on food, drink, accommodation, and religious souvenirs and by making donations to ecclesiastical institutions.

It was in commercial terms, however, that the Italian merchants provided most benefit to the settlers. The substantial flow of goods through the ports of the Levant generated a sizeable income for the Franks, especially in the first half of the thirteenth century, and in spite of the wide-ranging tax exemptions held by the western traders the sheer volume of commerce they encouraged was more than enough to compensate for the privileges given to them in the first instance. Merchants from Egypt, Syria, Iraq, the Maghrib, and Byzantium did not possess the same immunities as the Italians and had to pay taxes on sales and on goods arriving and leaving the ports. Many of these dues were Islamic in origin, showing how the settlers adopted local practices, particularly when they proved profitable. While Tyre and Latakia were important commercial centres, Acre was the fulcrum of the Frankish overseas trade. The Muslim writer, Ibn Jubayr, described it thus in 1185: 'Acre is…a port of call for all ships. It is the focus of ships and caravans, and the meeting place of Muslim and Christian merchants from all regions.'

Goods arriving by sea would be landed and transferred to one of the numerous markets that existed in the main ports. Smaller markets dealt in everyday items such as fish or vegetables, and others specialized in export products such as sugar. Antioch produced cloth and ceramics, Tripoli was noted for silk. The chief source of prosperity was the spice trade: a considerable volume of goods from the Asiatic trade routes passed through the Frankish settlements bound for Byzantium and Western Europe. Rougher forms of cloth were a common import from the west. Officials weighed the goods and items were taxed, mostly according to their value, but, in the case of bulk products such as wine, oil, and sugar, according to quantity. The level of taxes varied from 4 per cent to 25 per cent. A king or lord would award an individual a proportion of the profits, sometimes in the form of a money fief from a particular tax. After these grants had been deducted by the market or port office concerned the remainder of the money would be paid to local and central treasuries.

Trade prospered in times of peace but there were phases when such beneficial conditions faltered. An early crisis was the battle of the Field of Blood in 1119 when the Turkic warlord Il-Ghazi of Mardin crushed the forces of Prince Roger of Antioch and obliterated most of the Antiochene nobility. In reaction to this the Franks convened a council, held at Nablus in 1120, to consider why God had allowed this to happen. The settlers blamed their own morals and they produced a series of tough regulations designed to improve spiritual purity. These included a prohibition on sexual relations with Muslims (backed up by harsh punishments), banning the wearing of Muslim clothing, and introducing the right of clerics to carry weapons. Interestingly, the legal framework here shows a blend of Latin Christian law alongside considerable influence from Byzantine law, a reflection of interaction with the local eastern Christian community.

A further outcome of the Council of Nablus, or at least something that took place at around the same time, was the birth of the Order of the Temple, better known as the Knights Templar. A group of knights formed a sworn association designed to protect pilgrims and, with the support of King Baldwin II, who understood the advantages of such an entity, the idea took off. In 1128–9, the Templars' leader, Hugh of Payens, went to France and secured ecclesiastical approval for the creation of a new religious order, one that followed the monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience and lived as a community, yet was also dedicated to fighting the enemies of Christ. The concept proved immensely popular with donations and recruits coming from across the Latin west. In terms of the Crusader States, this meant the emergence of an increasingly powerful new institution that had the resources to take on the ownership of castles and then to build or redevelop others. The Templars' presence as a *de facto* standing army—men who were fully equipped, trained, and (in theory) disciplined boosted the settlers' military capabilities considerably. But, as a religious order, their ultimate loyalty lay with the papacy, which meant they were independent actors and such was their wealth and strength that they could exert a huge influence on strategic and political decisions in the Latin East. Usually, of course, their goals coincided with the secular authorities,

6. Templar Knight from Chapelle des Templiers de Cressac-Saint-Genis, France.

but on occasion this was not so, leading to considerable tension. The rise of the Templars prompted another religious group dedicated to the welfare of pilgrims to expand as well. An Amalfitan hospital had existed in Jerusalem prior to 1099 but with the support of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I, it grew in standing. The huge influx of pilgrims needed healthcare and by 1113 this organization was recognized by the papacy as a religious order—the group we know today as the Hospitallers. As the Templars emerged, the Hospitallers decided to add a military function to their organization and they too benefitted from grateful travellers to become a wealthy and influential institution with a clear fighting role alongside their charitable function.

In the aftermath of the battle of the Field of Blood, King Baldwin II of Jerusalem had been obliged to rush northwards to steady the ship and to become regent of Antioch. His efforts to resist the Muslims saw him captured in April 1123, along with Joscelin II of Edessa. Baldwin was eventually released but needed to head up to Antioch again in 1130 when Bohemond II (who had only arrived in the principality in 1126) was killed in battle. Evidently the Muslim threat was greatest in the north and this need to split responsibilities created real pressure on the Franks of Jerusalem.

A mixture of the mortality of the princes of Antioch and the genetics of King Baldwin II and Queen Morphia, who had four daughters together, meant that the succession to Jerusalem and Antioch proved particularly complicated. When the king died in 1131 his eldest daughter, Melisende, her husband Fulk, formerly the count of Anjou, and their infant son, Baldwin, were crowned co-rulers. Fulk disliked this arrangement, believing that he had been promised sole power and he attempted to rule in his own right imposing, for example, his own Angevin officials in positions of authority. This shows one of the basic tensions of the Crusader States. While desperately in need of outside assistance, the ruling classes were sometimes reluctant to

weaken their own wealth and standing to recognize and incentivize newcomers. Queen Melisende was furious at this attempt to remove her own authority and as the holder of the royal bloodline she became the figurehead for the Frankish nobility. This, along with her powerful personality, meant that Fulk could not command enough support to displace his wife and after a period of near-civil war in 1134 he was forced to govern with the queen; they ruled together until his death in 1143. His attempts to rebuild their relationship is manifest in the gift of the so-called 'Melisende psalter' a lavishly decorated prayer book with beautiful carved ivory covers and fine illustrations, revealing a blend of Western European (Anglo-Angevin), Byzantine, and Islamic features to show how some aspects of cultural life in the region might merge.

When Fulk died his son, Baldwin III, was only 13 years old and Melisende acted as regent for him. Baldwin came of age in 1145 but his mother refused to hand over power and ruled as the senior partner for seven more years. In the context of twelfth-century society this was relatively rare; in contemporary England, opposition to the succession of Matilda for reasons that included her gender, demonstrate the problems. Queen Urraca of León-Castile (1109–26) is, however, a clear example of a female monarch and as historians are now understanding, female power was exercised in a variety of ways well beyond simply wearing the crown. As the struggle in Jerusalem developed, Melisende and Baldwin formed their own separate administrations and issued charters in their own names. It was usually deemed necessary for a ruler to lead troops in battle, a requirement which was judged to rule out women, yet in the kingdom of Jerusalem—probably the most exposed region in Latin Christendom—Melisende held on. She appointed a military commander and evidently governed with sufficient authority to satisfy the leading men of the kingdom, because Baldwin could not gather enough support to displace her until 1152. She had used her wealth and patronage to found the important religious house of Bethany, just outside Jerusalem, and supported several other churches, such as that of St Anne in the city itself. Even when Baldwin III finally gained the upper hand, Melisende continued to play an influential role in the government of Jerusalem. These upheavals were, however, as nothing compared to that caused by her younger sister, Princess Alice, who attempted to rule the principality of Antioch after the death of her husband in 1130. The princess set up her own administration but opposition from some of the local magnates caused her to seek the support of the Byzantines, the Muslims of Aleppo, the counts of Tripoli and Edessa, and the patriarch of Antioch. A highly divisive episode ended after seven years when she was forced to concede control to Raymond of Poitiers, a westerner whom the local nobles had invited to marry her daughter.

Relations between a ruler and the nobility are a central aspect of any political entity and the development of the kingdom of Jerusalem demonstrates how the Franks reconciled familiar western customs with the need to adapt to the circumstances which faced them in the east. Although the chief court in the kingdom was the high court, attended by the king's own vassals, an occasional but significant forum for debating the political direction was a *parlement* attended by nobles, senior churchmen,

leading members of the military orders, and sometimes the important townsmen. *Parlements* agreed to the levying of extraordinary general taxes to help pay the cost of warfare, as in 1166 and 1183, or they might debate the choice of a suitable husband—often a westerner—for an important heiress. They could also consider diplomatic matters. In 1171 an assembly discussed whom in the west to approach for military help: the nobles wanted to send envoys to Europe and were shocked when King Amalric revealed his intention to travel in person to Constantinople to seek the support of the Byzantines: they protested vigorously but the king had sufficient authority to execute his plan.

It was not in the king's interest to allow the magnates to become too powerful and he could forestall this in a number of ways. When an individual died without heirs the lordship reverted to royal control. Given the high mortality rates in the Holy Land, this happened quite frequently and kings sometimes considered dividing up the territory into a number of small, and by definition less threatening, lordships. Another method of reducing the nobles' power was to give them landholdings scattered within the boundaries of other lordships. Opponents would therefore find it more difficult to form a territorial powerbase. These practices might well have been successful in consolidating the strength of the crown, but in any case, from the 1140s onwards, the heavy costs of maintaining fortifications and sustaining losses caused by Muslim raids meant that the nobles were being forced to concede land and castles to religious houses and the military orders. We can see examples of this with the Hospitallers taking on the ownership of castles at Bethgibelin in 1136 and Crac des Chevaliers in northern Tripoli in 1144.

Such developments signal the military situation starting to slide. In December 1144 Zangi, the Muslim ruler of Mosul, captured the city of Edessa. Western Europe responded to an appeal for help with the Second Crusade, led by Louis VII and King Conrad III of Germany. As they marched across Asia Minor the crusader armies suffered heavy casualties at the hands of the Seljuk Turks but the survivors joined with the forces of the Frankish east to attack Damascus, the most important city in the Muslim Near East in July 1148. The siege broke down within a week. It seems likely that a fear of Muslim relief forces compelled the Christians to make a tactical error, but this simple explanation did not satisfy the settlers and the crusaders, who accused each other of treachery. The westerners returned home, furious at this humiliating outcome and, in consequence, much less enthusiastic in their assistance for the Holy Land. Such a development could not have come at a worse time because, greatly encouraged by their victory at Damascus, the Muslims began to increase the pressure on the Franks.

The position in the north deteriorated rapidly. In 1149, Zangi's son and successor, Nur al-Din of Aleppo killed Raymond of Antioch at the battle of Inab and to emphasize his position as the Sunni Muslims' leading warrior he sent the prince's head to the caliph in Baghdad. Nur al-Din's influence soon extended southwards and in 1154 he took control of Damascus, which meant that the Christians faced a united Muslim Syria for the first time. His rule marked something of a change in a further

respect. We noted earlier that divisions among the religious and political classes of the Muslim Near East was one reason why the First Crusade succeeded. Nur al-Din, however, drew these two groups together because as well as being an ambitious empire builder, he became increasingly concerned to boost the cause of Sunni Islam. He emphasized strong religious observance and the importance of taking holy war (*jihad*) to the Franks, with his ultimate goal being the recovery of Jerusalem, the third most important city to the Muslim faith.

At this point the political situation in the south was finely balanced; while the Muslims were certainly an increasing threat to the Franks, Baldwin III of Jerusalem (1143–63) and his successor, Amalric (1163–74), were two strong kings who were prepared to confront their enemies. The keystone of Amalric's policy rested on the control of Egypt. By reason of the fertility of the river Nile and the position of Alexandria as, by a huge margin, the most important trading centre in the Mediterranean, the country was enormously wealthy. Yet dynastic and political instability had greatly weakened the Shi'ite Fatimid dynasty which meant the country was ripe for conquest. Both Amalric and Nur al-Din knew that with the resources of Egypt at their disposal their chances of defeating the other would be enhanced. Furthermore, given that Nur al-Din already controlled both Aleppo and Damascus it was essential for Amalric to prevent him capturing Egypt and surrounding the settlers by land. Between 1163 and 1169 the king made no less than five attempts to conquer Egypt. But in order to defend themselves from Nur al-Din, let alone contemplate such ambitious schemes as the capture of Egypt, it was plain that the Franks themselves needed assistance and the most logical source of such help was Western Europe. The *raison d'être* of the Frankish states was to guard the holy places on behalf of Latin Christendom. In turn, the real affinities of the settlers were with their co-religionists in Europe who, they anticipated, would wish to help defend Christ's patrimony because in theory the welfare of the Holy Land was of concern to all Christians. The Franks also tried hard to exploit their family connections with western nobles to prompt people to take the cross and to encourage traditions of crusading. From 1160 onwards they sent a series of letters and envoys to the leading men of Europe asking for help. The papacy backed this up by issuing appeals for new crusades. Some financial assistance was sent to the Levant and a number of medium-sized expeditions set out for the east led by men such as the counts of Flanders and Champagne. Short-term military assistance of this sort was, of course, welcome but what the settlers really required was a large-scale crusade. They focused particular attention on King Louis VII of France and King Henry II of England, but the political differences between these two rulers frustrated their efforts.

The need for substantial military assistance remained. Where else could the settlers turn to? One answer was the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantines were involved in the affairs of the Latin East from the first, and they had been in conflict with Bohemond I of Antioch until the treaty of Devol (1108) when the prince swore fealty to Emperor Alexios I Komnenos and acknowledged him as overlord of the principality. The presence of a substantial

Orthodox population in Northern Syria also encouraged Byzantine involvement in the region. King Baldwin III decided to form closer ties with Constantinople and in 1158 he married a member of the imperial family. Nine years later his successor, Amalric, did likewise. And in the interim the Emperor Manuel Komnenos wedded Maria of Antioch. These marriages enhanced the prospects for military cooperation with Egypt the primary goal of the Frankish-Byzantine alliance.

A joint campaign in 1168 failed and early the following year, Nur al-Din's Kurdish general, Shirkuh, took control of the country to dramatically increase the threat to the kingdom of Jerusalem. In light of the continued lack of large-scale help from the west Amalric persisted with his pro-Byzantine policy. He travelled to Constantinople in 1171 where it is likely that he paid homage to Manuel. It was the first time that a king of Jerusalem had made such a journey and this dramatic gesture demonstrated how desperate he had become. Further Byzantine assistance arrived in the Levant in 1177, but the rapport between the two powers ended with Manuel's death in 1180. Subsequent political turmoil in Constantinople led to a change of dynasty and the emergence of a pronounced anti-western bias, ended this line of support.

The year 1174 marked a major turning point for both the Franks and their enemies. In May Nur al-Din's death presented the Franks with a golden opportunity and, by sheer good fortune, they had arranged for a Sicilian fleet to assist them in another attack on Egypt. Unfortunately for them, just as the Sicilians reached the Levant, King Amalric fell ill and died. The campaign failed and the Sicilians returned home. This disappointment was compounded by the fact that Amalric's young heir, Baldwin IV, was a leper, which meant that he was incapable of ruling effectively and could not father children. Baldwin struggled on until his death in 1185 but he presided over an increasingly febrile nobility. This was a period of intense feuding between two rival factions who sought to manipulate the unfortunate king to serve their own ends. The succession of his infant nephew, Baldwin V, changed little and the child died within a year, meaning even greater political turmoil.

As the Franks became irredeemably divided, the Muslim Near East slowly began to recover its strength. Shirkuh, the conqueror of Egypt, died soon after his victory, but his successor Saladin carefully established his own powerbase in the country. His transparent ambition brought him into near-conflict with Nur al-Din, only averted when the latter died. For the next thirteen years, Saladin spent much of his time fighting or threatening Nur al-Din's heirs as he sought to use the resources of Egypt to take control of the Zangid lands in Syria for himself. Periodically he fought the Franks too, suffering a heavy defeat at Montgisard in 1177 but two years later, he managed to prevent the completion of a new castle at Jacob's Ford, dangerously near to Damascus. Like Nur al-Din, Saladin emphasized the importance of *jihad* and his paramount desire to recover Jerusalem. By 1184, the threat he posed was so serious that the Franks made a major attempt to convince the leaders of Western Europe to act. A delegation led by the patriarch of Jerusalem and the masters of the military orders tried to persuade the rulers of Western Europe to help defend the Holy Sepulchre; the

7. The battle of Hattin (1187), showing the loss of the True Cross.

settlers were so desperate that they even offered the overlordship of the kingdom to Philip II of France and then to Henry II of England, but in vain. They were left isolated.

By 1187 Saladin ruled Egypt, Damascus, Aleppo, and Mosul and at this point he needed to make good his promises of holy war. On 4 July he crushed the settlers' forces, led by Guy of Lusignan, the king-consort of Baldwin IV's sister Sybilla, at the battle of Hattin. The Franks' lack of manpower was exposed and their lands lay almost defenceless. In the succeeding months Saladin captured Jerusalem for Islam, justifying his empire building. He pushed the Latins back to the coast, but crucially he could not take the port of Tyre which left a vital bridgehead for the inevitable response to these events, the Third Crusade.

Cyprus

In May 1191 Richard I of England captured Cyprus from Isaac Komnenos, a renegade member of the Byzantine imperial family. Richard was sailing towards the Holy Land to take part in the Third Crusade when some of his fleet, which included the vessel carrying his sister and his fiancée, hit a storm and several were wrecked or had to take shelter. Isaac imprisoned the survivors and this hostile reaction prompted Richard to use force; after a brief campaign his troops compelled the Cypriots to surrender. In spite of his status as a crusader Richard had not hesitated to take land from a Christian ruler, although it is clear that he had acquired the territory on his own behalf.

Richard sold the island to Guy of Lusignan, the former king of Jerusalem, whose brother and successor Aimery of Lusignan established a French-speaking dynasty which ruled for almost 300 years. This marked the transformation of a land that was formerly part of the Byzantine Empire, had operated under Roman Law and the spiritual authority of the Greek Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople, to a region

working along western feudal lines with the Catholic pope as the religious figurehead. Cyprus came to play an integral role in the defence of the Holy Land and then, after 1291, as the major Frankish presence in the Eastern Mediterranean. Even though, given favourable winds, the journey from Cyprus to the Syrian coastline could be accomplished in a day, compared to the Latin settlements on the mainland, Cyprus was far less susceptible to Muslim raids, let alone a full-scale invasion.

That said, fear of Byzantine efforts to reconquer the island caused Aimery of Lusignan to seek the overlordship of the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI in 1195. Aimery was granted a royal crown by the western emperor and thereby boosted his standing; he also became king-consort of Jerusalem in 1197 when he married the heiress to the throne, Isabella I. Although he spent more time in Acre than in Nicosia this did not mean that the two kingdoms merged. Their institutions remained separate and Aimery refused to allow the financial resources of Cyprus to be absorbed in the defence of Jerusalem. He was, however, prepared to consider deploying the islanders' military strength on behalf of those on the mainland. His marriage to Isabella produced no children and on his death in 1205 the two kingdoms were ruled, for a time, by different dynasties.

In order to consolidate their rule on Cyprus the early Lusignans granted hundreds of villages and other rights to nobles, knights, mounted sergeants, and burgesses, a policy which also helped to offset the recent territorial losses to Saladin on the mainland. The Lusignans were prudent enough to ensure that no castles or walled towns were held by lay vassals, a practice that rulers elsewhere in the Latin East could not contemplate because of the threat of Muslim attack. Logically enough the legal and governing structures for the nobility and bourgeois were very similar to those of the kingdom of Jerusalem with a high court advising the monarch as necessary. The kings also kept justice closely under their control, as well as prerogatives such as minting coins, along with customs duties (highly profitable) and commercial markets.

Such factors prevented the nobles from building up regional powerbases and may help to explain the relative calm on the island, apart from an externally inspired civil war between 1229 and 1233. The only non-royal fortresses were probably those at Kolossi and Gastria which formed part of the extensive estates held by the Hospitallers and the Templars who both played a significant role in the defence and the economy of the island.

Fertile shore plains, terraced valleys, and the development of irrigation channels meant that Cyprus could produce substantial quantities of cereals, sugar, cotton, wine, and olive oil for export. A combination of these advantageous conditions and Lusignan rule caused the Cypriot economy to grow rapidly, with the city of Limassol becoming the first centre of commercial activity. The island's position as a natural stopping-off point for traders on their way to the mainland and the investment of the Italian merchant communities contributed to its prosperity. The Venetians had secured privileges during the period of Byzantine rule, but under the Lusignans they lost out badly and the Genoese became increasingly prominent, particularly after the civil war

of 1229 to 1233. King Henry I (1218–53) needed naval help and the Genoese assisted him in return for substantial commercial privileges. Towards the end of the thirteenth century Famagusta began to overtake Limassol as the commercial capital of the island because it was 50 miles closer to the mainland and more convenient for the growing trade with Syria and Cilicia. After the fall of Acre in 1291 Europeans were prohibited from direct trade with the Muslims. Western merchants made use of Ayas in Christian Cilicia and Syrian Christians transported merchandise from the Levant to Famagusta to enable Europeans to purchase it. Cyprus became a key staging post on a major international trade route and the volume of commerce generated meant that Famagusta became a wealthy and cosmopolitan city.

One of the biggest changes brought about by the Frankish conquest was the establishment of the Catholic Church. The papacy and the Lusignans set up the Latin archbishopric of Nicosia and bishoprics in Paphos, Limassol, and Famagusta. The Frankish crown and nobility gave lands to western monastic orders such as the Premonstratensians, based at the famous monastery of Bellapais, to the Cistercians (male and female institutions), and the Franciscan and Dominican mendicant orders too.

The majority of the native population was Greek Orthodox but in the interests of maintaining peace, the local churches, monasteries, and the majority of the

8. Monastery of Bellapais, Cyprus.

landholdings of the Greek Church on Cyprus remained in their possession and the local episcopal hierarchy was preserved. That said, Greek bishops were required to subordinate themselves to their Catholic counterparts. The Orthodox were also compelled to acknowledge the primacy of the pope, a situation not imposed upon their co-religionists on the mainland. The Orthodox archbishop formally agreed to this in 1261, but the lower clergy were less prepared to accept Catholic jurisdiction. There were occasional moments of crisis. In 1231, following from the Greeks' insistence on the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist (because for them it symbolized the Resurrection), led to thirteen Orthodox believers being martyred in Nicosia, while numbers of their co-religionists were excommunicated.

For over half the period between 1205 and 1267 the government of the crown of Cyprus was marked by minorities and regencies. One consequence of this was the emergence of the Ibelin family, which was already well established in the kingdom of Jerusalem, as a powerful force in Cypriot affairs. In *c.*1218 Philip of Ibelin became regent for his nephew, the infant King Henry I. Philip had sufficient support to brush off a challenge to his authority from Henry's mother, but Emperor Frederick II, who arrived on the island in 1228, was determined to check the power of the Ibelins, led at this time by Philip's brother, John. The emperor was furious that they had ignored his rights as overlord by crowning Henry without any reference to him. He claimed custody of the young king and the profits from royal properties. He invited John of Ibelin to a banquet, received him cordially, and then had him surrounded by armed men and arrested. John was forced to hand over Henry before he escaped to the castle of St Hilarion in the northern mountains. Shortly afterwards, Frederick left for the mainland and when a papal invasion of Southern Italy compelled him to return home, he sold the regency of Cyprus to five imperial supporters among the local nobility, known as 'the five baillis'. There followed four years of civil war as the Ibelins struggled to defeat the imperialists in Palestine as well as on Cyprus. Richard Filangieri, the imperial marshal, besieged their castle at Beirut and fomented opposition to them on Cyprus. John secured the backing of a Genoese fleet (in return for sizeable trading privileges) and the majority of the Cypriot population, and in 1233 a daring campaign took Famagusta, St Hilarion, and Kyrenia to rout imperial forces on the island. The five baillis were exiled and lost their lands giving the Ibelins even greater strength while the overlordship of the emperor on Cyprus ended in 1247 when Pope Innocent IV absolved King Henry of any oaths he had taken to Frederick and the kingdom came under the direct protection of the Holy See. *De facto* independence had come at a cost however, with the war badly damaging royal finances.

The relative proximity of Cyprus to Egypt, the target of most thirteenth-century crusading expeditions, meant that it was an obvious advance base. This was most apparent during the first crusade of King Louis IX of France who established huge supply dumps of wheat and wine prior to his arrival there in late 1248. On reaching the Eastern Mediterranean Louis spent eight months on the island and he was accompanied by King Henry I and leading Cypriot nobles when he invaded Egypt in June 1249.

9. Castle of St Hilarion, Cyprus.

The Frankish Cypriots were not always so keen to help such expeditions and during the Lord Edward of England's crusade in 1271–2 some of them tried to argue that they should not perform military service outside the island and that when they had assisted their king elsewhere in the past it had been in a purely voluntary capacity. They finally agreed to serve him abroad for only four months a year. The ruler of the time, Hugh III became king of Jerusalem as well in 1269. Christian Palestine was riven by faction fighting and Hugh's efforts to focus the Franks' remaining strength against the Mamluk Sultan Baybars were unavailing, as we shall see. After the fall of Acre in 1291 Cyprus was flooded with refugees. The island moved into a new era in which it assumed a vital role as the remaining outpost of Latin Christianity in the North-Eastern Mediterranean and the obvious point from which to try to re-establish a Christian presence on the mainland.

Frankish Greece

On 12 April 1204 the city of Constantinople fell to the Fourth Crusade. There followed three days of looting. In advance of the assault the crusaders had decided to elect a Latin emperor who would control one-quarter of the territory conquered from the Byzantines and in May 1204 Count Baldwin of Flanders was crowned in the Hagia Sophia. The remaining three-quarters of the land was divided between the Venetians and the other crusaders. The unplanned occupation of the Byzantine Empire was a

10. Seal of Emperor Baldwin I of Constantinople.

direct consequence of the crusading movement and while the expedition started as an attempt to recover Jerusalem, financial necessity had subsumed this into a conquest driven primarily by the prospect of financial and territorial gain.

Emperor Henry of Flanders (1205–16), by far the most able of the Frankish monarchs, faced threats from Bulgaria to the north, as well as the Byzantines, but with support from his native Flanders he was able to consolidate his hold on Thrace. Within a decade, however, the Byzantines, ruled by an emperor in exile in Nicaea, had recovered almost all of the lands they had lost in Asia Minor. After Henry, the ability of his successors declined steeply and Constantinople experienced serious economic difficulties; multiple efforts to persuade the west to help yielded little response. The threat of a Mongol invasion temporarily distracted the Nicaeans, but in July 1261 Emperor Michael VIII reclaimed Constantinople for the Byzantines. The kingdom of Thessalonica under the Northern Italian Montferrat crusading dynasty lasted until 1224, but other Frankish settlements enjoyed better fortune. Achaea was the most glamorous, and under the Villehardouins its court became regarded as one of the finest manifestations of chivalry in Christendom. Geoffrey II's court at Andravidha was perceived as a finishing school for the flower of French knighthood, a view which reflected close cultural ties between these settlers and their homeland. A later writer remarked that the French spoken in Achaea was as good as that in Paris. A period of peace allowed the nobles to entertain themselves with tournaments and hunting; fine frescoes adorned the walls of their palace, although very little of this culture survives today. In 1259, however, Geoffrey's flamboyant successor, William II, was captured by the Nicaeans in the battle of Pelagonia and before being freed he was forced to swear an oath of fealty to Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily. This drew the duchy into a broader political orbit and in later years it became part of the conflicts between Naples and Aragon. That said, Achaea survived until it was recovered by the Byzantines in 1432.

Many of the basic parameters of the Latin conquest were quite different to those in the Near East. Byzantium was a more centralized and bureaucratic state than anything that existed in the Holy Land and it was dominated by Constantinople, comfortably the largest city in the Christian world. The conquerors constituted a small, ruling elite but

11. Seal of Emperor Henry I of Constantinople.

they were so few in numbers they tended to live in the cities or in the fortified towers that sprung up across the landscape. In other words, this was a more segregated existence than the situation in the Holy Land.

The Greeks were accustomed to a society in which all free men were subject to the same law, regardless of social or economic standing. The Latins introduced a highly stratified society with different laws for nobles, burgesses, and peasants. The land was divided up into fiefs and Greeks who remained loyal to the Orthodox faith were treated as villeins. Soon, however, the basic distinction between conquerors and subjects became blurred. The Franks needed to exploit the resources of their new territories and the simplest way to do this was to adapt the existing Byzantine fiscal structure. They utilized the *archontes*, former imperial landowners and officials, to penetrate the complexities of the tax system. The *archontes* were, in effect, the Greek nobility and although they remained religiously and culturally separate from the Franks, by the latter half of the thirteenth century they had begun to receive fiefs from the settlers. From 1262 there is evidence of Greek knights being dubbed, which demonstrates that the *archontes* were starting to enter the Frankish hierarchy. This bound the locals' interests to those of the settlers and helped to compensate for the Franks' numerical weakness in the face of attacks from the hostile Bulgarian state to the north and the Greek exiles in Asia Minor and Epirus. Linguistically and culturally, however, the Franks remained separate from their subjects, and although intermarriage was banned in theory, practicalities dictated otherwise.

The fertility of the Peloponnese peninsula and Crete encouraged economic expansion. Demand grew for the export of bulk products such as wheat, olive oil, wool, and wine, as well as luxury items such as silk, and in some areas the Franks grew wealthy. Venetian holdings included Crete, Modon, and Coron in the Southern Peloponnese, and the European coast of the Sea of Marmara. Crete was the most important of these because it was located at a key point on the trade routes between Egypt, Syria, and Constantinople. The Venetians impinged less on the Greeks than the other westerners did because they maintained a centralized bureaucracy, and imperial prerogatives, such as fiscal dues, were kept under a single authority and not distributed to individuals as

occurred elsewhere in Frankish Greece. A duke was appointed to govern but his powers were limited by directions from Venice. Crete remained in Venetian hands until 1669.

As elsewhere in the Latin East and Cyprus the Franks did not try to impose the Catholic rite on their new subjects. The size of the Orthodox population would have made such a policy impractical anyway. The Franks did, however, elect a Latin as patriarch of Constantinople and replaced Orthodox bishops with Catholic ones. The Greek Church lost a lot of land to the conquerors, although some was returned on payment of land taxes. Catholic churchmen tended to live in urban areas and for the few westerners in rural districts it was hard to find a priest trained in the Latin rite. In consequence, isolated settlers might use local Greek priests to perform the sacraments for them and this led to a degree of Hellenization. Western monasticism in the form of the Cistercians failed to take root, although the Franciscan and Dominican friars fared better.

Ultimately, however, in spite of arguing that the existence of Frankish Greece acted as a barrier to the false Christians in Bulgaria and Byzantium, that it brought the Orthodox Church into obedience to Rome, and that it contributed to the defence of the Holy Land, it proved little more than a distraction from the more prestigious efforts to recover Jerusalem.

Latin Palestine and Syria, 1187–1291

In July 1191, in the course of the Third Crusade, Richard I of England and Philip II of France achieved a notable success by helping the Frankish settlers regain the vital port of Acre. By the end of the expedition the Christians had secured the coast from Tyre to Jaffa. Even if the primary aim of recapturing Jerusalem had not been accomplished, compared to the near-extinction of the kingdom after 1187, this was a major step forwards. This position, coupled with Saladin's death (1193) and the immediate infighting among his successors afforded the Christians an opportunity to consolidate their recovery. Henry of Champagne (d. 1197) and Aimery of Lusignan (also ruler of Cyprus, 1195–1205) brought effective rule to the region although a huge earthquake in May 1202 and a subsequent plague caused immense destruction across both Christian and Muslim lands. As the Ayyubids lost focus on the Franks, the early decades of the thirteenth century were characterized by economic growth, a series of succession crises, and a number of crusades to Egypt, the conquest of which was believed to be the best route to the reoccupation of Jerusalem.

Innocent III's determination to recover Jerusalem led him in 1213 to issue the papal bull *Quia maior*, the call for the Fifth Crusade. Having taken the cross in 1215, Emperor Frederick II was supposed to have joined the expedition but political problems in the west repeatedly prevented him from departing. In 1225, however, he became closely involved in the affairs of Jerusalem when he married Isabella II, the heiress to the throne. The crown of Jerusalem still carried considerable prestige and Frederick intended to enhance his position as Holy Roman emperor through his involvement in the Holy Land. By 1227 he had assembled a sizeable crusading army but when he fell

ill, delaying his own departure yet again, Pope Gregory IX excommunicated him. The emperor finally set out for the east in June 1228. His actions on Cyprus have been outlined above and he encountered further difficulties on the mainland. Isabella had died during childbirth and he claimed and received the regency for his infant son, Conrad, who was back in the west. Frederick was determined to restore the power of the crown, which had suffered since the reign of the leper-king, Baldwin IV, but the leading nobles, who did not want their dominance challenged, were determined to resist him. One of the most important weapons in this struggle was their skill in legal affairs, an area in which the Crusader States had developed particular expertise, in part as a result of being in a unique position and having a blend of western traditions running alongside a complex web of local legal practices. There emerged a school of jurists, closely associated with, and including members of, the baronial families. The origins of this lay in a peculiarity of feudal service in the Latin East, the obligation of a vassal to give *conseil*, assistance in the presentation of a case in court, if called upon to do so. The prestige of vassals who were skilled in this way was enhanced by the claim that when Jerusalem had fallen in 1187 the laws of the kingdom, which had been written down and kept in a chest in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, had been lost. There could be no recourse to written law and in consequence memory and custom dictated judgements in the early decades of the thirteenth century, in direct contrast to developments in Europe where there was a growing reliance on written records. There emerged a group of high-profile lawyers, skilled in the art of public pleading and, initially at least, dependent on their memory of past procedures. As the study of law blossomed (as it did on Latin Cyprus too), a number of important legal works were written, almost all of them in French, rather than the Latin used by lawyers in Europe; they constitute the Franks' most important literary achievement of the century. The lengthy *Le livre des Assises* of John of Ibelin, written between 1264 and his death in 1266 is of particular note. We must be wary of being dazzled by the jurists' own sense of importance although it is undeniable that they played a prominent role in deciding who ruled the kingdom of Jerusalem at a time of absenteeism and minorities. The nobles exploited the legal training of some of their number when Frederick confronted them. They rejected his confiscation of Ibelin fiefs around Acre and opposed his attempts to advance the position of the Teutonic Knights ahead of the hereditary claimant to the lordship of Toron. A law originally instituted to strengthen the crown, the *assise sur la ligèce*, was now, under very different circumstances, turned to the nobles' advantage. Since the law had stated that a lord could not take action against a vassal without the formal decision of his court (akin to the Magna Carta in England), the nobles insisted that this applied to the king as much as to any other lord; if justice was not forthcoming they maintained that they were entitled to use force to reoccupy any confiscated fiefs and could withdraw their services, in theory leaving the king powerless. The Ibelin fiefs were regained by force and in the case of the Teutonic Knights the prospect of losing military service compelled Frederick to back down. The outcome of this episode, however, was as much a

reflection of the emperor's weakness as an absentee as a clear indication of the strength of the nobility.

Frederick enjoyed far better fortune in his dealings with the Muslims. The invasion of Egypt by the Fifth Crusade had perturbed the Egyptians and, fearing the consequences of Frederick's expedition and facing political rivals within the Ayyubid confederacy, Sultan al-Kamil surrendered control of Jerusalem in February 1229, although the Muslims held on to the Temple area and would not allow the city to be fortified. A ten-year truce was agreed and Frederick promised to protect the sultan's interests against all his enemies, Christian or Muslim. Frederick staged a triumphant imperial crown-wearing ceremony in the Holy Sepulchre, even though his status as an excommunicant meant the city was placed under an interdict by the patriarch of Jerusalem. The controversial nature of his rule was shown when the local populace pelted him with offal as he prepared to leave the port of Acre in June 1229.

Frederick's departure did not mean the end of imperial involvement in the Latin East: when in 1231 his lieutenant, Richard Filangieri, tried to take control of Beirut, the nobility, basing its opposition on a sworn confraternity at Acre, managed to frustrate him. This required a legal justification and the jurist, Philip of Novara, who was a client of the Ibelins and our principal source of information for this period, produced a fictional argument to justify the termination of Frederick's regency. He maintained that once Conrad had come of age—which would not occur until April 1243—his father's regency would end. Since Conrad had not come to the east to claim the throne, there was still a need for a regent and his nearest relative in Palestine, Queen Alice of Cyprus, was appointed in Frederick's place. The kingdom split with Richard, meaning the imperialists retained control of Tyre and the north, while their opponents, led by the Ibelins, held Acre and the south. Richard appropriated Venetian revenues in Tyre, which encouraged the merchants to side with his enemies. The Genoese were already hostile to the imperialists and representatives of the two Italian communities offered to betray Tyre to the Ibelin faction. In the summer of 1242 these forces combined to expel the imperialists from the city. The emperor's supporters soon lost what little remained of their influence in the east thereby marking the end of a hugely significant structural tie to Latin Europe and an obvious source of military help.

The kingdom of Jerusalem was not the only settlement to be affected by political upheavals. In 1201 claimants from Armenia and Tripoli began to dispute the succession of Antioch and many years of conflict followed before Bohemond IV triumphed. He ruled over both Antioch and Tripoli, although the legal and administrative systems of the two settlements remained distinct. The prince chose to reside in Tripoli and in his absence Antioch was heavily influenced by its large Greek community. The politics of Northern Syria were complicated further by the prominence of the Templars and Hospitallers who, over the decades, had used their wealth to create a series of independent lordships centred upon the great castles of Margat, Baghras, Tortosa, Crac des Chevaliers, and Chastel Blanc. After the Third Crusade, a further major

military order emerged with the formation of the Teutonic Knights. With the patronage of Frederick II and the energetic leadership of Hermann von Salza they became an important presence in the region with their headquarters at the imposing castle of Montfort, *c.*20 kilometres north-east of Acre.

The kingdom of Jerusalem's economic survival was dependent on Christian control of Acre. For most of the twelfth century Alexandria had been the dominant commercial centre in the Eastern Mediterranean, but around the 1180s the Asiatic trade routes began to focus on Acre as the prime outlet for their goods. The English chronicler, Matthew Paris, wrote that the royal revenues of Acre were worth 50,000 pounds of silver a year around 1240: this was more than the income of the king of England at that time. Even if the accuracy of the figures for Acre may be doubted, the kingdom of Jerusalem was certainly wealthy. The relative security of the coast meant a considerable rise in the population of Tyre and Acre. Jewish communities flourished in urban areas, often attracted by the economic opportunities there. The Italian mercantile communities also increased their involvement, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice sending permanent officials to the Levant. The merchants profited from the greater volume of commerce and the king derived more revenue from taxes, but eventually the trading communities became so powerful that they began to exert a destabilizing influence on political life as we will see below.

Acre contained a noted community of Jewish intellectuals who formed part of the city's broader emergence as a key centre for learning beyond the legal matters outlined above. The opportunity for interaction with the Muslim Near East saw Frankish writers produce close insights into various aspects of the Islamic faith and practices. In part this was prompted by the emergence of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders with their emphasis on preaching; some of this information was then conveyed back to the papacy and intellectuals in Western Europe. The Dominicans had a house for the teaching of oriental languages in Acre and while there was no university in the Frankish states (only a few existed in the west at this time anyway), there were schools in Acre, Jerusalem, Beirut, and Antioch, as well as on some Hospitaller properties too. Translations from Latin to French, of both classical and contemporary works, was another feature of the Latin East. A flourishing school of miniature painting emerged in Acre, reflecting both western and eastern Christian traditions, with beautifully illustrated versions of the French translation of William of Tyre's great narrative history of the Latin states being of special note.

The era of relative prosperity ended in the 1240s. The settlers broke a truce with the sultan of Egypt and discovered that they had stirred up a hornets' nest when the Muslims allied with the Khwarizmians, a displaced Turkic people forced into nomadism by the Mongols. Jerusalem was sacked in August 1244 and the tombs of the Frankish kings smashed to pieces. Two months later the Christian forces were crushed at the battle of La Forbie in which over 1,000 knights were killed. Desperate calls for help resulted in the first crusade of King Louis IX of France. When it took Damietta in a single day, this huge enterprise seemed poised for success. Progress slowed

as it moved southwards and an undisciplined attack on the town of Mansura so weakened the crusade that Louis was forced to make peace. Distraught at the fate of his campaign and determined to ensure the release of thousands of Christian prisoners, the French king remained in Palestine for four years and organized, at great expense, the refortification of the defences of Acre, Sidon, Jaffa, and Caesarea. Only two years after his departure commercial rivalry between the Genoese and the Venetians led to the war of St Sabas (1256) in Acre, an immensely destructive episode which drew in the Frankish nobility and the military orders. The conflict weakened the settlers' position in the Levant and damaged their standing in Europe too.

Louis' invasion of Egypt had unwittingly triggered the replacement of the Ayyubid dynasty by a new regime, the Mamluks who were, initially at least, only looking to consolidate their position. Around the same time the Mongol armies appeared in the Near East. In 1258 they sacked Baghdad and two years later attacked Aleppo. Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli became their ally, but the leaders of Jerusalem, pincered between the Mongols and the Mamluks, decided to allow the Egyptians to pass through Frankish territory before their victory over the Mongols at the battle of Ayn Jalut in 1260. The Mamluk Sultan Baybars seized power in Egypt and soon began to impose his authority in Syria.

The settlers' lack of manpower dictated their military response. A strategy based on holding isolated strongpoints, often under the control of the military orders, was a key element in the defence of Frankish territory. The Christians had insufficient troops to form a field army and provide adequate garrisons for their fortified sites as well, although Louis IX's innovation of establishing a permanent French regiment in the east was a positive development. Financed largely by the French monarchy, the force consisted of about a hundred knights, along with crossbowmen, plus mounted and foot sergeants. Unlike the military orders it was not tied to the defence of individual sites and therefore could be deployed in a more flexible fashion. It became customary for the captain to hold the position of seneschal of the kingdom of Jerusalem (the royal deputy in the high court and the administrator of royal castles) which demonstrated the regiment's standing in the east. Overall, however, the French regiment was a case of too little too late. The Franks' offensive action was usually restricted to raiding, because with their limited resources they could hardly envisage permanent territorial gains, and pitched battles were generally avoided. Unless crusaders were in the east the Franks' inferior numbers meant that the unpredictability of battle held far greater risks for them than their opponents, as the horrors of Hattin and La Forbie had shown. The Franks' military problems were exploited by the brilliant generalship and careful strategy of Baybars, who blended a strong message of *jihad* with a meticulous organization of military resources to relentlessly break down Frankish lands. Confined to a passive form of defence, the settlers could only watch as their lands were devastated. Even their increasingly sophisticated castles such as Margat and Crac des Chevaliers could not resist the huge enemy invasion forces. From time to time a city or fortress would fall and Christian-controlled territory would shrink

even further. The Frankish economy began to decline too. The Mongol invasions of Iraq and North Syria had disrupted the trade routes and the Black Sea replaced the Levant as the terminus for much oriental commerce. All sections of society suffered financial strain. Hugh III of Cyprus found the kingdom of Jerusalem ungovernable in the face of a claim from Charles of Anjou, the ruler of Naples and Sicily, who had bought the crown from a pretender to the throne, and he decided to concentrate his attention on Cyprus. In 1286 his successor, King Henry II, regained Acre and was crowned amid great pageantry and splendour, but the Mamluks were closing the net on the remaining settlements. In 1287 Tripoli fell and on 5 April 1291 the final assault on Acre began. A vast army battered its way through the town walls. The king and his nobles escaped to Cyprus but many of the defenders perished. On 28 May the final resistance was crushed and within three months the Christian hold on the mainland had ended. The Latins in the Eastern Mediterranean no longer ruled any land that had recently been occupied by Muslims: ironically, in Cyprus and Frankish Greece they now exploited the resources of territories which had, beforehand, been in Christian hands.

Guibert of Nogent, writing in *c.*1108, described the Frankish settlers as 'Holy Christendom's new colonists'. The thirteenth-century writer of *L'estoire de Eracles*, claimed, 'When this land was conquered it was by no chief lord, but by a crusade and by the movement of pilgrims and assembled people.' The First Crusade was launched to recover and assure the security of Christian control of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, but in this respect the Frankish presence in the Holy Land ultimately failed. But the concept of crusading was flexible and in conjunction with the economic and strategic drive of the Western Europeans, it unexpectedly brought Cyprus and Byzantine Greece and Constantinople into the orbit of the Latins. The different circumstances of each conquest and the varied character of the lands taken inevitably dictated (often unequal) interactions across all aspects of religious, military, cultural, and economic life. This huge movement of people and ideas, sometimes temporary, sometimes permanent, generated both conflict and coexistence for the inhabitants of a great many lands. The Frankish presence left an indelible, if often unwelcome, mark on the peoples and regions thus affected while at the same time bringing far wider horizons to the people of the Latin West.

CHAPTER 4

Women and the Crusades

NATASHA R. HODGSON

THE crusades had a huge impact on the lives of women across Europe: in the north and west where initial recruitment focused, in areas of Eastern Europe that crusaders marched through on their way to the Holy Land (or the Italian peninsula if they travelled by sea), in the Eastern Mediterranean, Anatolian regions, and North Africa. As crusading was adopted into normal patterns of European warfare, it continued to have a significant impact on women in arenas where crusading ideas combined with colonial ambitions to impose western and Christian ideologies. Given such a large scope of potential crusading activity, this essay will focus mainly on the origins of women's involvement in medieval crusade movements. Uncovering the histories of medieval women is always a fragmentary process, but the authors of medieval texts did not often see a place for women in the political and military events of the crusade movement. For this reason, it is important to give them focused attention: this allows us to maximize the available evidence to encompass not only women's participation in and collaboration with the crusade movement, but also to think about the whole range of ways in which crusading impacted upon different women's lives. Doing so helps us to understand better how crusading ideas were interpreted, received, and acted upon by supporters and critics across medieval societies, and how the implementation of those ideas was experienced by those who ended up as targets of crusading activity.

Context

For most people, the word 'crusader' evokes images of a knight wearing armour, often on horseback. Whether this figure is conceptualized as a warrior with a calling to fight for God to protect the Holy Land, or as a brutal oppressor driven by greed and religious hatred, the crusader is a quintessentially male figure in the popular imagination. This model has been strongly reinforced by chivalric and orientalist themes that pervaded western literature long after crusades to the Eastern Mediterranean ceased. A resurgence of interest in crusading as a *topos* in the art and literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as discussed by Elizabeth Siberry in the current volume, combined medieval crusading with contemporary ideologies of imperial and colonial

expansion to create a highly romanticized image of the crusader which still holds sway in a wide range of popular literature, films, TV, gaming, and social media. Where the narrative focuses on 'crusaders', women tend to be cast as distant or exotic love interests, victims of crusader brutality, or occasionally as viragos aspiring to manly qualities. The idea of 'crusade', however, also held historic appeal for women in later western culture. At the same time as these very masculine ideals were being promoted, authors such as Celestia Angenette Bloss were writing novels about 'Heroines of the Crusades' (1855), and Mother Stewart was referring to the Women's Temperance Movement in Ohio 1873 as a 'crusade' against liquor. Later, women's suffragists also appropriated the terminology and imagery of crusade to describe their fight for their right to vote. This could expose a divergence between male and female associations of being a 'crusader'. Over time, the collective ideal of participating in a 'crusade' for a particular cause expanded flexibly to fit many new political agendas and ideologies as modern western cultures appropriated the medieval crusades.

It is fair to say that the modern perception of crusaders as masculine figures has clear roots in the literature contemporary to the medieval crusades. As the majority of written source material preserved from the time came from male ecclesiastics who were focused on attracting the patronage of a narrow and elite section of society, women were only considered worthy of historical record in particular sets of circumstances, usually relating to political alliances, transitions of power, or transactions of land or money. However, they could also appear as didactic exemplars of good or bad behaviour. Women feature in crusade narratives perhaps even less than in other medieval histories, for two main reasons. First, crusading was a type of warfare, and this was viewed culturally as a male-only activity, despite the fact that in practice, women often played important auxiliary roles in armies. They were *de facto* involved when the towns, villages, and fortifications where they lived and worked were besieged or raided, and they could be expected to take on supporting defensive roles. Further, as noblewomen, they played key roles in directing warfare, organizing troops and supplies, as well as demonstrating facets of 'soft power', pressuring opponents politically or economically, making and breaking alliances, and negotiating resolutions to conflict. Second, women may have been overtly discouraged from taking part in crusade expeditions. For example, on hearing about the First Crusade, Emerias of Altejas rushed to take the cross, but was advised she would be better placed to found a hospice for the poor, and was absolved of her vow by Isarn, bishop of Toulouse. Robert the Monk's account of Pope Urban II's speech at Clermont in 1095 specified that women and other non-combatants should not accompany armies to the Holy Land unless they had proper permission and guardianship 'for such were a hindrance, rather than a help, a burden rather than a benefit'. In the view of western medieval chroniclers, the crusades were called by God, thus when crusaders were defeated in battle, they had to provide an explanation that fit with God's divine plan. Thus Robert, writing before 1111 but long after the events of the First Crusade (during which crusaders had experienced attacks on their baggage trains, severe famine, and

even reportedly resorted to cannibalism), thought it prudent to explicitly list participants who were seen as unsuitable: women, the sick, and the elderly, who might consume crucial supplies and slow the pace of crusader armies.

Several chroniclers also feared that the presence of women would tempt crusaders into sexual sins which angered God, leading to military defeats. Because crusading was a type of pilgrimage, crusaders were effectively temporary ecclesiastics. They were not supposed to engage in sexual activity even if wives accompanied them. Prostitution was an acknowledged problem on crusade, yet there is a lack of clarity about who engaged in prostitution and why. There may have been a number of single women on crusade that were engaging in sex for either money or food, but it is unclear in most cases whether these were women who set out with the army, became involved with crusaders en route (voluntarily or as captives), or formed part of established 'brothel' systems. It is also possible that high death rates during crusades led to new relationships but that these were difficult to gain permissions for and formalize through marriage while on crusade. Albert of Aachen saw fornication and unlawful relationships with women and girls as a chief reason for the failure of the so-called 'People's Crusade' of 1096. That expedition comprised disparate bands of first crusaders who set off before Pope Urban's planned departure date, both men and women. They were led by lesser nobles and itinerant preachers including Peter the Hermit and were defeated near Nicaea. As the crusade was believed to be the will of God, however, such military defeats required explanation. The loss of God's favour was blamed on the sins of the crusaders themselves, and this connection between sin and the failure of crusades continued to grow in significance as the movement progressed. Strict and publicly shaming punishments were employed. Guibert of Nogent told how a cleric who was found with a prostitute at the siege of Antioch was stripped naked and whipped through the camp on the orders of papal legate Bishop Adhémar of Le Puy. It is notable, however, that distinctions of class and marital status were applied. If noble crusaders took their wives with them, they seldom received explicit criticism for having children, thus sexual activity within the bonds of wedlock and a noble duty to create heirs was for the most part accepted. Louis IX, king of France and his wife Margaret of Provence had three children while on crusade in the thirteenth century, yet the couple kept a reputation for chastity by faithfully abstaining from sex on religious days as recounted in later texts relating to Louis' canonization.

Most crusaders, however, would leave wives and families behind to undertake a crusade expedition. Cleric and crusade participant Fulcher of Chartres highlighted the gendered expectations of both women and men when separating to take part in crusades, making it clear that women were to remain behind and grieve, while men must hide their emotions and act according to God's will, despite being internally affected by their departure.

> Then husband told wife the time he was expecting to return, and that if he was to keep his life, by God's grace, he would return home to her. She, however, fearing that she would never see him again, could not support herself, tumbled lifeless to the ground, mourning for her love whom she was losing in this life just as if he were dead already. He, as if

> having no compassion, although in truth he had, and as if he had no sympathy whatever for the tears of his wife or the grief of his friends, although suffering secretly, he departed thus, steadfastly and unyielding in spirit. (I.vi.13; author's translation)

For Fulcher, the physical sacrifices incurred by taking the cross went beyond the rigours of the journey alone. Crusaders were renouncing the world of the flesh, thus leaving their families behind was part of that penance. Later, crusade recruitment songs would strike a similar theme, and courtly love songs would utilize the crusade as a backdrop against which to display the emotions evoked by separation. The main concern was that potential recruits might be put off going on crusade out of worry for their loved ones or, indeed, that wives might try to prevent their partners from taking the cross. The marriage vow was taken very seriously as a legal bond, and canonists worried that an absence of three years or more on crusade might tempt partners into adultery and sin. Crusaders, in theory at least, needed the assent of their wives to take the cross. In practice, examples of a specific wife preventing a husband crusading are rare, and usually originated in cautionary stories from crusade preachers. It is true, however, that decisions about crusade participation had to be taken at a family level because it entailed considerable financial expense, and arrangements to secure family lands and property needed to be made, as well as protecting vulnerable members of the family group. Recognizing this, in a bid to make crusading more attractive, the Church added special protections for the families of crusaders so that they could call upon and receive ecclesiastical support against enemies if they were under threat or a dispute arose. By the time of the Second Crusade, these privileges included special legal protections for the families of crusaders and a freeze on the repayment of debts.

Women, Pilgrimage, and Crusading Motivations

Despite the careful arrangements of the Church to support families at home, the appeal of the crusade message was such that women from all across Europe still took part in the movement in a wide variety of ways. They travelled to the Holy Land with crusading armies from the very First Crusade and continued to be involved in crusading activities well beyond the loss of the Holy Land in 1291. Even contemporary chroniclers tell us that very large numbers of men *and* women took part in medieval crusades. However, a key problem in evaluating women's roles as crusaders stems from the connection between crusading and pilgrimage. The desire to connect physically with holy places where the events of the Bible played out, and to possess relics as tangible evidence of contact with the divine, was an immensely strong draw for medieval travel. Pilgrimage was open to and popular with all Christians in the medieval era, both men and women. In fact, one of the most significant early Christian pilgrims was Saint Helena, the mother of Emperor Constantine, famed for establishing Christianity at the heart of the Roman Empire. She was credited with finding a piece of the True Cross in Jerusalem (subsequently celebrated by a feast day on 3 May—the Invention of the Cross) and commissioned the building of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, thus she is an incredibly significant

1. St Helena and the discovery of the True Cross.

figure for traditions of pilgrimage and Christian patronage. Other women aspired to follow in her footsteps, like the Spanish Abbess Etheria, who left a record of her travels in the Holy Land later in the fourth century. Rome, Santiago de Compostela, and Jerusalem formed three main pilgrimage centres, but relic shrines sprang up all across Europe associated with different saints. A pilgrimage journey in itself came to have spiritual importance as it became associated with penance, and enduring hardship on the way was a significant factor in expiating sins. Many crusade charters, including those involving women, express a desire to take the cross for the sake of one's own

soul or for those of the family. Specific sins were not often raised, but conflicts over Church property tended to be settled as a matter of course before departure in such documents. We do not know the outcome of the sad case of Mariotta, who appeared in the court rolls of Yorkshire in the early thirteenth century having accused Thomas le Grant of rape, because she did not attend court—she had gone to the Holy Land. The charges against Thomas were dropped, but had the social stigma of the case made Mariotta's life untenable in the local area or made her feel that she had to do penance? As in many of these cases, this snapshot is the only evidence available, and it is not known whether Mariotta ever reached or returned from the Holy Land.

So why might women want to take the cross, and be part of a crusader army? Specific answers are not always easy to discover, for men or women. Like other medieval sources, most of the women mentioned in crusade histories were noble, and most were simply described as accompanying male relatives, which makes it hard to assess the motives or indeed agency of individual women in deciding to take the cross. Crusader queens who accompanied family members leading major expeditions include Eleanor of Aquitaine, Berengaria of Navarre, Joanna of Sicily, Margaret of Provence, and Eleanor of Castile. Margaret of France was the daughter of a crusader king, Louis VII, and aunt to the new king of Jerusalem, Henry of Champagne, when she went on crusade in 1197. Recently widowed following the death of King Bela III of Hungary, she used her dower to make the trip on her own with a large number of troops believing, we are told by a continuator of William of Tyre, that she could help to regain Jerusalem alongside the forces sent by Emperor Henry VI, though she died soon after arriving at Acre. Such important women were probably accompanied by retinues of noble ladies and maidservants, but these were seldom mentioned in narrative histories. Isabella of Aragon, wife of Philip III of France, took part in the crusade against Tunis in 1270. After the death of Louis IX on the crusade, the royal couple started the return journey but Isabella was five months pregnant and suffered a bad fall from her horse. Her infant son died, and Isabella followed soon after, at the young age of 24. We only find out that she had a retinue of women with her because she left donations to them in her will, including to Edelina, a midwife.

Two women who travelled to the east at this time and could be seen as both piously motivated and supporters of crusade were Ermengarde, duchess of Brittany and her niece, Sybil, countess of Flanders. Ermengarde of Brittany clearly exerted political authority, was motivated by interest in spiritual life, and was keen to support the crusade effort. Born *c.*1070, she was the daughter of Fulk IV of Anjou (le Réchin). She was brought up at the court of Angers and may have briefly been betrothed to William IX, duke of Aquitaine (poet-crusader and grandfather of Eleanor of Aquitaine), before marrying Alan, duke of Brittany, in 1093. Perhaps because she was pregnant, she did not accompany Alan on the First Crusade, but remained as regent in Brittany for five years during his absence from 1096 until 1101. During that time she was able, if needed, to draw on support from her powerful Angevin family, and when her young son and heir fell ill she demonstrated her faith by taking him on a pilgrimage to the shrine of

2. Funerary effigy of Isabella of Aragon, Basilica of Saint-Denis.

St Nicholas. When Alan returned from the crusade, rather than relinquishing power, Ermengarde co-ruled the county with him, and although she seems to have briefly entered a convent between 1105 and 1106, she maintained this high-profile role with her husband until he retired to monastic life in 1112. She then co-ruled with her son Conan III from 1112 to 1148. She was probably well educated and was surrounded by educated men. Her father was a budding historian, and she received letters and poems from contemporary luminaries such as Bishop Marbod of Rennes and Robert of Arbrissel, though sadly there are no written responses attributed to her. Towards the end of her life, she expressed her piety through support of the Cistercian movement, which had strong connections to the crusades. In the early 1130s she chose to visit the holy places and her half-brother, Fulk V of Anjou, who had recently become king of Jerusalem through marriage to Melisende, daughter of Baldwin II of Jerusalem. Little is known about Ermengarde's stay in the east, and she does not seem to have travelled with her own major armed force, though it is possible that she travelled with a group of Cistercians and Templars mentioned in a letter by St Bernard of Clairvaux to Queen Melisende. There is evidence to suggest that Ermengarde stayed at the convent of St Anne, and that she founded a church at Jacob's Well, although she did not die in the Holy Land as William of Tyre thought. She returned to Brittany and was active in politics there for a number of years afterwards.

There are striking parallels between Ermengarde's experiences and those of her niece, Fulk V's daughter, Sybil of Anjou, who became countess of Flanders through marriage to Count Thierry IV in 1134. Thierry left Sybil behind when he visited the Holy Land independently in 1138–9 and took part in the Second Crusade in 1147–9. During her second regency Sybil, heavily pregnant, had to rebuff the encroachment of Baldwin

3. Coronation of King Fulk and Queen Melisende.

IV of Hainault into their lands and gained support from the Church to organize a truce. Yet donations to ecclesiastical institutions and a beautifully carved ivory cross attributed to Sybil, which currently resides in the museum at the Louvre in Paris, indicate that she too had pious leanings. By 1157, her son Philip was old enough to take on the reins of government and Thierry and Sybil travelled to the Holy Land together. When they arrived, Thierry and his forces went on campaign but Sybil went to the convent of Bethany. The abbess there was her stepmother Melisende's sister, Yveta. Sybil then announced her decision to remain in the Holy Land to enter the convent. This vocation may have been a longstanding ambition, but if so it seems that her husband was

unaware of it. The most detailed account in these sources of her decision to stay can be found in the French translation and continuation of William of Tyre's history known as the *Chronique d'Ernoul*. It told how Thierry completed his campaign and returned to Bethany, but Sybil refused to leave. Despite his pleas, she would not change her mind, so he asked the king and the patriarch for help while Sybil went straight to the abbess and asked for the clothing of a nun. Ernoul wrote:

> The patriarch came to her and told her that she could not do this, for it was against the will of her husband. She begged the patriarch and the king to plead with the count to leave her be, for God's sake; they did so, and she flung herself at his feet crying mercy, that he should for the love of God leave her there to do her penitence, for she would not linger there were it not out of penitence. (Author's translation)

The patriarch and the king were moved to support her case and the count, filled with sorrow, relented. In the final part of the story, Ernoul described Sybil's saintly life in the convent, and how Yveta and the other nuns begged her to become abbess. 'But the lady replied that, if it pleased God, she would never be abbess, for she had certainly not come there to be abbess, but to be a disciple'. The author thus emphasized that she was not defying her husband for a love of power but out of a humble devotion to her new vocation. Sybil remained at the convent until her death in 1165. Her actions and patronage suggest that Sybil had genuine spiritual motivation for the journey and

4. Cross of Sybil of Anjou (made between 1134 and 1156), now in the Louvre, Paris.

highlight that in some circumstances women could appeal to the Church to support a vocation over the wishes of her husband and a marriage vow.

Should such women be seen as crusaders or pilgrims? The main difference between the two concepts was that crusaders were allowed to carry arms, while pilgrims were not. If women were theoretically excluded from the battlefield because of *fragilitas sexus* (the fragility of their sex) then by this rigid classification they could never be viewed as more than ordinary pilgrims. However, scholars have argued endlessly about definitions of crusading, especially during the twelfth century when there does not seem to have been a specific word to describe this activity. Most crusade expeditions were described in written works as 'pilgrimages' or simply 'journeys', so trying to separate female pilgrims from crusaders where both participated in expeditions and carried out crusading activities seems an arbitrary distinction. Further, although neither of these women took part in one of the major 'numbered' expeditions called by the pope they can certainly be seen as connected to a tradition of 'independent crusading' where small contingents led by lords periodically went out to fight in the Holy Land. Sybil travelled out with her husband Thierry and an armed force, while Ermengarde may have been accompanied by Templars at the nascent stages of their development. Both had also signalled strong support for the crusade by facilitating their husbands' crusading activities. These two are by no means the only such examples, but widening the scope of historical investigation to include women like these helps us to understand the cultures of crusading which underpinned the expeditions and encouraged some medieval women to travel to the east.

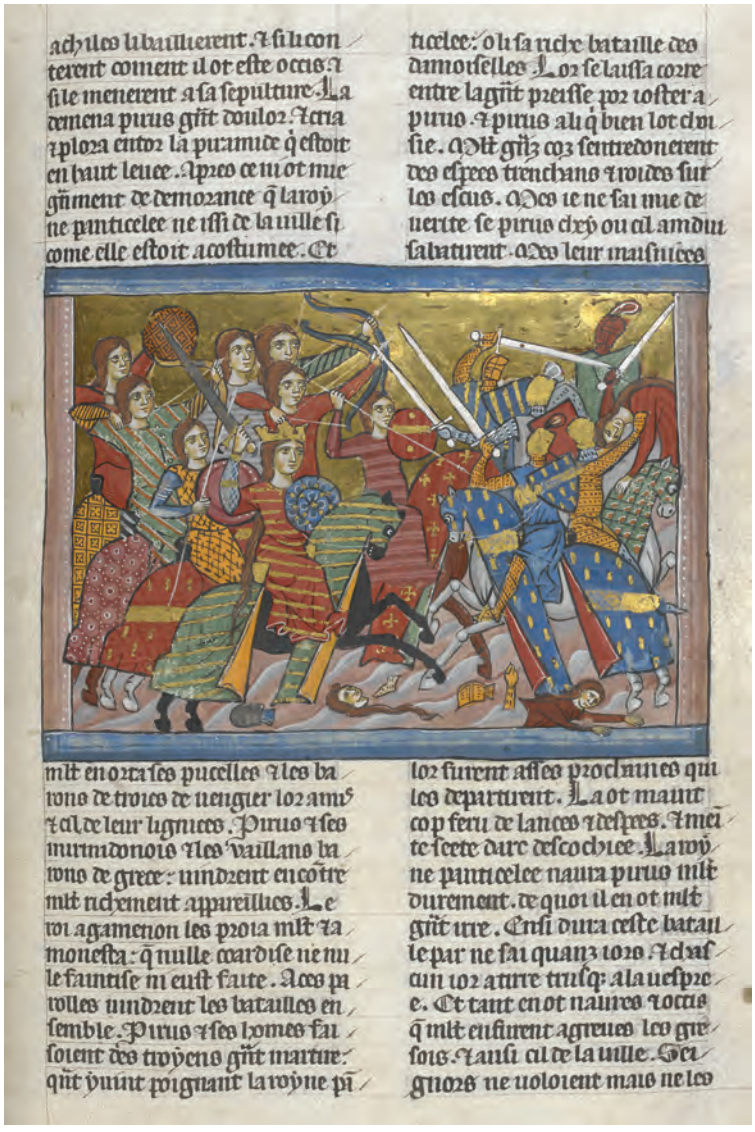
On Crusade

Power and wealth certainly helped these elite women to achieve their goals in terms of travel to the Holy Land, however people of all social status took the cross and travelled to the Holy Land. One study found evidence for over 160 women who may have taken the cross, appeared in crusader armies, or travelled to the east between 1095 and 1291. Historical narratives or charters have allowed us to identify eleven named female participants on the First Crusade (noblewomen) and four who were unnamed—one was the noble wife of Ivo of Grandmesnil but the other three included a nun, a courtesan, and a woman who followed her goose on crusade. Chroniclers were lavish in their scorn of the latter three. Albert of Aachen described how the nun was captured and raped, and despite returning for absolution later absconded with her captor. The courtesan, who had been 'dicing' with a cleric in the orchards outside Antioch, met a similar fate and was killed. The goose woman was treated with derision, as were the 'stupid and insanely irresponsible' people who followed her. Guibert of Nogent, writing in France, corroborated the latter story, though there may have been a connection between the two texts (medieval authors had no qualms about plagiarism). Guibert added that the woman would have been better off cooking and eating the goose. Albert went on to add yet more tales about women meeting 'bad ends' on

crusade. He told of the otherwise undocumented Florina, a widowed daughter of the duke of Burgundy, shot down by Turkish arrows alongside her Danish fiancé, Svend, whom she had planned to marry after the crusade. Emeline, the widow of Fulbert of Bouillon, was sold into a marriage with a Turkish mercenary after her husband was beheaded during their captivity. Travelling with a husband or family on crusade was clearly no guarantee of safety. Yet the concerns of monastic chroniclers clearly had limited impact as women continued to travel to the east with crusade armies throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, perhaps because doing so offered them better protection than travelling in a small group of pilgrims. A passenger list surviving from the Saint Viktor, a crusade ship of 1250, records that forty-two of the 342 people en route to the Holy Land were women, some of whom were still travelling independently without male family.

Thomas of Froidmont's poem about the adventures of his sister Margaret of Beverley in the Holy Land makes no mention of any specific companions, though she may have travelled initially with a group of pilgrims. She was following in the footsteps of her parents, who seem to have been reasonably affluent townspeople, Huon and Sybilla of Beverley, in East Yorkshire. They travelled to Jerusalem in the mid-twelfth century, even though Sybilla was expecting. She gave birth to Margaret in Jerusalem, and the couple then made their way back to Beverley. They then had their son, Thomas, who was dedicated to a clerical life and later became attached to the circle of Thomas Becket. Margaret seems to have had a role in the upbringing of her brother, perhaps because of the death of their parents, but once his future was assured, Margaret decided to visit the place of her birth. We know little about the route she travelled to the Holy Land, or indeed whether she travelled with a crusade, but she was present in Jerusalem when Saladin besieged the city, bringing water to the men on the walls. She described herself dressing as a man and wearing a cauldron for a helmet, and she was wounded on the leg by shrapnel from a millstone. After the capture of the city, she was taken into slavery twice, and redeemed by benefactors who took pity on her she returned to the west with crusaders returning after the Third Crusade. In the poem, she seems to convey some disillusionment about the conflict between princes which led to its failure. She had spent at least five years in the east, visiting holy sites and shrines, working as a slave, and fighting in a siege, but continued travelling, first to Rome and then to Santiago de Compostela before finally ending her days in the convent of Montreuil in Laon *c.*1215. We only know her story in such detail because her brother, a talented scholar, composed a verse account after her death that was probably intended for the nuns of her convent.

Were women attracted by the military aspects of crusading? Although women were restricted from engaging in warfare, romantic and stereotypical images of armed female warriors abounded in medieval literature, from Amazons in courtly romances to viragos often described as putting on male clothing and fighting 'manfully' or 'beyond their sex'. Both Imad al-Din, secretary to Saladin, and later compiler Ibn al-Athir (who drew from Imad al-Din's work) highlighted the presence of Frankish



5. Amazons, led by Queen Penthesilea, battle Greeks.

women on the Third Crusade, which they found remarkable. They described a Frankish woman leading 500 or 1,000 troops into battle, and others who were dressed and armed as men only to be revealed as female in the aftermath of a battle. Archery was possibly a military skill that some women employed—the same source mentions a female archer among the Christian forces at the siege of Acre in 1191. Guibert of Nogent, although he was not present on the First Crusade, mentions female archers fighting on behalf of the Turks in the army of Karbugha of Mosul. Some women took

retinues of their own knights on crusade, fulfilling the roles of feudal lords, though they may have relied on a male leader to represent them on the battlefield, or take on organizational roles such as constable or marshal. Ida of Cham, the widow of Margrave Leopold II of Austria committed to fulfilling her dead husband's crusade vow and was counted among the main leaders of the ill-fated 1101 crusade. Ida herself was either killed or captured by the forces of Kilij Arslan at Herakleia. Women who were captured might be ransomed if they were wealthy enough to be worth keeping alive, but even the most noble risked slavery or death if they went on crusade.

Later poetic sources imagined romanticized battalions of women fighting at the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem. Such stories may have been intended as amusing or titillating, but even in contemporary Latin narratives women are described as fulfilling practical auxiliary roles in crusade armies. They were praised for bringing refreshments and encouragement to crusaders at the battle of Dorylaion, they shifted rubble in their skirts, and dug ditches at Arqa and Acre during the First and Third Crusades, and wove wicker panels for siege engines at the siege of Jerusalem in 1099. During the Fifth Crusade both Christian and Muslim women were employed grinding coin corn while the women of the crusader camp maintained markets for fish and vegetables. In late 1219 women had to assume roles as guards for the camp, carrying arms under pain of excommunication, and killed a number of al-Kamil's troops who fled from a failed attack on Damietta. During the Albigensian crusades, women were involved in town militias, and reputedly operated the siege engine which killed Simon of Montfort in 1218. Laundresses were viewed as 'key workers' in Henry II of England's ordinances for his planned crusade, as long as they were women of good reputation. This is probably because keeping crusaders clean was an important factor in supporting their general health (the poet Ambroise described them as on a par with monkeys for their skills at picking lice), and they may have fulfilled other auxiliary roles. When he fell seriously ill during his campaign in Egypt, King Louis IX of France was attended to by a female physician called Hersenda who is thought to have hailed from Paris. She received a pension from the king in reward for her services though she is the only named woman to perform this role currently known in sources relating to the crusades.

The activities of noblewomen on crusades are sometimes less easy to discern even if they are named as accompanying husbands or other family on crusade. Once a Latin presence was established in the Holy Land it is likely that they fulfilled vows and perhaps sought a safe place to stay like Sybil of Anjou while their husbands campaigned. Berengaria of Navarre and Joanna of Sicily both brought money to the Third Crusade and were the victims of a shipwreck, and had to be rescued by Richard the Lionheart, but once they arrived in the Holy Land they did not play a role in campaigning. Noblewomen on crusade were still expected to participate in regular practices like patronage, however. Eleanor of Castile commissioned a copy of Vegetius' *De re militari* in Acre for her husband, the Lord Edward, while Margaret of Provence made a vow to commission a silver ship to St Nicholas of Varangéville in return for a safe passage by sea. They made donations to ecclesiastical institutions both in the Holy

6. Eleanor of Castile and Edward I, her husband.

Land and in the west: Hadvide of Chiny donated a chalice encrusted with jewels and elaborate vestments to the abbey of St Hubert-en-Ardenne. They could also receive gifts: Margaret of Provence was given a gift of camlet, a type of material, by Louis IX's marshal, John of Joinville. Women continued to play a traditional role in hospitality on crusade—while in Cyprus en route to Damietta, the same Margaret received Marie of Brienne, empress of Constantinople, with great honour. Noblewomen communicated with each other and provided conduits for negotiation, as demonstrated by a reference in Odo of Deuil to letters exchanged between Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Byzantine empress, Bertha of Salzburg. Eleanor's involvement with the Second Crusade has perhaps attracted the most attention because of scandalous rumours that she had an affair with her uncle Prince Raymond of Antioch while she and Louis VII were recuperating at his court after a major military defeat. Her subsequent divorce from Louis and remarriage to Henry II of England seemed to lend credence to such rumours, yet Raymond had sound political reasons for courting Eleanor's favour as he wanted military support from the crusaders to bolster his principality. The queen's traditional role as intercessor for her husband made her the natural person to approach for that support, though in the end it seems to have caused a rift between Louis and Eleanor and sparked rumours of the affair. The story of Eleanor's supposed infidelity was amplified and combined with other colourful stories about her in later narratives, such as another purported affair with Henry II's father Geoffrey of Anjou, and even

7. The marriage of King Louis IX of France and Margaret of Provence in William of Saint-Pathus' *Vie et Miracles de Saint Louis*.

Saladin himself, though the Ayyubid ruler would have been around 10 when Eleanor travelled to the east. To some critics, Eleanor's example embodied all the dangers of allowing women to go on crusade.

The Impact of the Crusades on Women

Gauging the impact of the crusades on women as they travelled through Europe and into the Latin East, and as crusading activities extended to other arenas such as Iberia and the Baltic, is a challenging prospect. Crusading armies needed supplies and trade, but were hard to regulate and often engaged in hostilities even with local Christian populations when the terms were not to their liking. From the time of the First Crusade, we see the persecution of Jewish communities where men, women, and children were deliberately targeted and attacked. Albert of Aachen was particularly shocked by stories of Jewish women putting their own children to death before committing suicide, rather than being taken or forced to convert by the crusaders. Accounts of the crusade's passage through Eastern Europe describe Christian Hungarian women, married and unmarried, being raped and killed by crusading armies. Where crusaders engaged in siege warfare, women suffered hardship and privation along with all those inside the city. Depending on whether there were terms of negotiated surrender, women might be allowed to leave a city with their belongings, as they did at Nicaea in 1097, or they might be taken as prisoners for ransom or slavery. Fulcher of Chartres claimed that crusaders avoided tainting themselves with sexual violence and put women to death instead, saying that the crusaders 'did the women no harm but drove lances into their bellies', yet on other occasions he describes a trade in slaves between the crusaders of women, young and old, handsome and ugly, for turning hand mills. When a city was taken by storm, as happened in the Holy City of Jerusalem in 1099, the chances of surviving were bleaker. The extent and scale of the massacres carried out by the crusaders there have been contested by historians, partly because the most contemporary sources from Egyptian and Syrian traditions seem to suggest that the killings which took place, although undeniably a massacre, were not so extensive and holistic as western authors claimed. Jewish communities in Jerusalem were very badly impacted and contemporary Hebrew sources reflect this. Western sources went to great lengths to describe the killing of the citizens, and deliberately referenced the horrific deaths of women and children to underscore the totality of the massacre. This is perhaps because they sought to fit these events into a biblical model of vengeance which they saw as suitable to describing these events. It is clear that very many women and children, including Muslim, Jewish, and some Christian citizens died there, alongside those employed by the Fatimid regime fighting to protect the city, while others were captured and sold into slavery.

Having established a core base in these nascent 'crusader states' of Edessa, Antioch, Jerusalem, and later Tripoli, however, such violence was not sustainable in the long term. Both urban and rural populations were needed to keep trade flowing and landed

estates viable, and the new Latin Christian overlords, both secular and ecclesiastical, needed taxes to pursue their military and political ambitions. For some, establishing connections with Christian families in the area seemed a prudent way to make quick local connections and alliances. In the northern states of Edessa and Antioch, there were significant Byzantine, Armenian, and Syrian Christian populations and although we know less about crusaders of lesser social status, some of the more high-profile crusading lords entered into marriages with Armenian nobility. Baldwin of Boulogne, who established himself in the first crusader state of Edessa, did so at least in part through his marriage to the daughter of Taphnuz, brother of the Roupenid prince, Konstandin. His successor Baldwin of le Bourcq married Morphia, daughter of Armenian prince, Gabriel of Melitene, in exchange for 50,000 bezants in dowry, and the alliance helped him to establish his rule over the county of Edessa in 1100. The couple had four daughters, Melisende, Alice, Hodierna, and Yveta.

Morphia's daughters had highly significant roles in establishing networks of power in the Latin East. Melisende was about 17 when her mother died, but she was designated the royal heir, and destined for an important crusading husband from the west who could bring money, prestige, and fighting soldiers to help secure and expand her territories. An embassy was sent to invite a rich and powerful noble, Fulk V, count of Anjou, to become her husband. At first all seemed to be going well, and the royal couple produced an heir, but when Baldwin II died in 1131, William of Tyre suggests that he made an unusual stipulation that Fulk, Melisende, and their baby boy Baldwin were to inherit the throne together. It is possible that Baldwin was worried that Melisende might be put aside by Fulk, and that he wanted to ensure that his line would continue on the throne.

Other sources from the early years of Fulk's reign suggest this may have been a genuine concern. Charter evidence shows that Melisende was being excluded from important decisions in the kingdom, and western chronicler Orderic Vitalis tells us that Fulk was aggravating the local nobility by appointing Angevin strangers to positions of authority. Matters came to a head when one of Melisende's close supporters, who was also a cousin, Hugh of Jaffa, was accused of treason against the king. William of Tyre indicated that there were rumours that Melisende and Hugh were too close, and that Fulk was inflamed by a husband's jealousy, so it was judged that the matter should be settled by single combat. Hugh fled to Jaffa and rebelled against the king in earnest. Hugh was popular enough at court to gain some initial support, but he also sought alliances with Muslim nobles which lost him political currency. In the end, Fulk took the army to Jaffa, Hugh was defeated, and sentenced to exile. Yet while he was waiting to depart, one of Fulk's knights tried to assassinate Hugh, and he later died of his injuries. Melisende was furious about the attack on both her integrity and her cousin. Fulk protested his innocence but William of Tyre asserts that the king feared for his life among partisans of the queen.

Cowed by Melisende's rage, Fulk seems to have had a complete change of heart and incorporated the queen into his rule, consulting her on the business of the realm and

issuing charters jointly. During this period, the famous Melisende Psalter, a richly decorated personal prayer book fit for a queen, was commissioned—possibly by Melisende herself, or perhaps by Fulk as a gift for his wife. The artwork on the Psalter contains elements of eastern and western styles, giving a flavour of the multicultural nature of court life in Jerusalem at this time. A second son, Amalric, was born to them in 1136. The royal couple embarked on a substantial building programme across the kingdom. This included the strengthening of castles like Bethgibelin, and rebuilding the façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Later on in her reign, public works like a covered market in Jerusalem also spoke to Melisende's astute use of 'soft power' to maintain a relative degree of stability and security with the growing urban population in the city of Jerusalem. Melisende is also renowned for the patronage of the convent of Bethany, endowing it richly with lands and goods so that her sister Yveta could take on the role of abbess in a foundation befitting her royal status.

In 1143, Fulk was killed in a hunting accident, and Melisende inherited jointly with her son Baldwin III, a minor at age 13. This was followed almost immediately by the capture of the city of Edessa by Zangi in 1144 which was a major blow to Latin settlement in the east and potentially also impacted personally on Melisende, who had grown up in the region and had family connections there. This event helped to spark the Second Crusade. As a widow, Melisende ruled the kingdom skilfully according to chronicler William of Tyre, and was a key figure in negotiations with Louis VII of France and Conrad, king of Germany, about the final outcome of the Second Crusade. She hosted the council at Palmarea in 1148, where the fateful decision was taken to besiege Damascus, even though this would damage the truce she had previously arranged with Unur, the Muslim ruler of the city.

By the early 1150s Baldwin III was 20 and chafing at the bit, egged on by his faction at court. Melisende herself seems to have been an experienced and respected ruler, but her agents were not so well received and courted controversy. During this period she was seen to rely too heavily on another cousin who had come on crusade from the west, Manasses of Hierges. He was given the title of constable of Jerusalem and was therefore in charge of the army. Baldwin wanted sole authority in the kingdom, yet his grandfather's legacy meant that Melisende had a legitimate right to share the throne. He challenged his mother in public; then at a meeting of the high court, he demanded that they divide the kingdom between them. Melisende agreed to the split, taking Jerusalem and Nablus as her share, but having persuaded her to concede this much, her son pressed the advantage and promptly invaded her lands. The matter came to blows and Baldwin bombarded his mother in the citadel at Jerusalem. Peace was finally negotiated through the Church, and Melisende decided to stand down, allowing Baldwin to take power. However it is clear that this rift, serious though it was, soon healed. Baldwin still sought his mother's advice and she performed occasional roles in government on behalf of her son up until her death in 1161.

Melisende's queenship represented the zenith of royal power in twelfth-century Jerusalem. She engaged in diplomacy with the west and received letters from Bernard

of Clairvaux, Her dual heritage from her mother Morphia also led her to support a range of eastern Christian churches and monasteries, for example she played a key role in commissioning the Armenian Cathedral of St James in Jerusalem. Her power was considerable, but not exceptional. The royal line in Jerusalem ended up producing several queens regnant like her granddaughters Sybilla and Isabella. Her sisters also played key roles in the other crusader states, with Alice in place as princess of Antioch and acting as regent for a young daughter Constance, while Hodierna married Raymond II of Tripoli. William of Tyre was less complimentary about Alice than he was about her older sister, seeing her as self-interested and accusing her of negotiating with Zangi, the ruler of Aleppo and Mosul who later went on to capture Edessa in 1144.

The shift in fortunes of the Crusader States in the mid-twelfth century following the failure of the Second Crusade and strengthening of unified Islamic rule in Syria, then Egypt, necessitated alliances closer to home. These were supported, in the kingdom of Jerusalem at least, by the marriage of Melisende's sons to Byzantine brides, Theodora and Maria Komnene. Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, who was seen to an extent as sympathetic to the Latins, likewise took a Latin bride in Maria, princess of Antioch. Such matches were usually accompanied by fabulously large dowries but also came at a diplomatic price, Manuel was a shrewd negotiator. William of Tyre evinced mistrust of these women, particularly their reliance on eastern doctors who, in his view, caused the death of Baldwin III. The Byzantine princess, Anna Komnene, daughter of Alexios I, may have been an eyewitness to the arrival of the First Crusade at Constantinople and her husband, Nikephoros Bryennios, was involved in interventions with the crusaders. The most profound impact of the crusades on Byzantine women, of course, was the sack of Constantinople by crusaders in 1204, which not only led to theft, rapine, and killing on a hitherto unforeseen scale, it left the city and empire irreparably damaged and vulnerable to further attacks. Even Pope Innocent III, once his euphoria at news of the city's capture had worn off, expressed shock at the violent treatment of Christian citizens by swords, he asserted, that they should have used on 'pagans'. He accused the crusaders of lewdness, adultery, and fornication, and charged them with exposing Byzantine matrons and virgins to 'low-born filth'.

It has been suggested that because of the constant warfare in the Latin East, elite women in settler societies had more opportunities to fulfil powerful roles as men were engaged in expeditions and indeed died on campaigns, either in battle or from illness. However, when we compare the instances of Latin female rule in the east with their counterparts in the west, or even other contemporary female rulers in the vicinity, it is clear that having women exerting political authority was not as 'exceptional' as historians once thought. Comparative examples of women exerting political authority can also be found in both Turkish and Egyptian Islamic societies, though it is difficult sometimes to draw a direct link between the impact of the crusades and political opportunities for women to exert power. This is in part because at the time the crusaders were just one of a number of groups seeking to assert control in the region. Just before the crusade movement began, the death of the Seljuk ruler, Malik Shah,

offered an opportunity for Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos to try to recoup Byzantine authority in Anatolia. Malik Shah's widow, Terken Khatun, took over as a regent for his son Mahmud I from 1092–4. She managed to gain the support of the Abbasid caliph for Mahmud's claim, but faced opposition from another son of Malik-Shah, Berkyaruq. She died in 1094, and her son soon after, but she had also received support for her claim from Karbugha, who went on to capture Mosul in 1095 and who was a key opponent of the first crusaders at Antioch in 1098. Karbugha himself was harangued in some First Crusade texts by his mother (named Calabre in a later poetic interpretation), who was variously described as a wrinkled old crone, a seeress, and an astrologer, who made dire predictions and warned her son against fighting the Christians. The conversation, as it was reported by Christian authors, was clearly invented, but it is interesting that many of these accounts end with Karbugha's mother returning to Aleppo with as much wealth as she could carry, demonstrating female control over family property and resources, which was a cultural practice in Turkish tribes at this time. Another very real contemporary to Melisende and her sisters was Queen Arwa of Yemen who was born *c.*1047–8 and became a co-ruler with her husband, Ahmad b. ʿAli al-Sulayhi (Al-Mukarram Ahmad) in 1074. He was reputedly paralysed from injuries sustained in battle and illness, and the power of the state devolved onto Arwa. Yemen at the time was subject to the Fatimid caliphate in Cairo, who held power in Jerusalem at the time it fell to the first crusaders in 1099. As ruler, Arwa made the decision to move the capital of Yemen to a safer location at Dhu Jibla, founding a new royal palace at Dar al-ʻIzz. She underlined her right to rule publicly by having her name, alongside her husband's, declared in the *Khutba* or sermon delivered at mosques, which was usually a privilege reserved only for the caliph and the monarch. When her husband died, Arwa acted as regent for her young son ʿAbd al-Mustansir ʿAli, though she was forced to marry in order to have a military deputy. Both son and husband had died by 1097, and from that point on, Arwa ruled as sovereign until 1138 through four successive military deputies. Perhaps because of the distraction provided by the arrival of the crusades, Yemen successfully avoided conflict with the Seljuks, and the Fatimid caliphate in Cairo chose to accept Arwa's rule in return for nominal authority and the important trade links an alliance could bring. For elite women at least, political instability and warfare in the region provided those with the aptitude for lordship with a number of opportunities to grasp and wield political power.

Was there much cross-cultural contact between elite women at the time of the crusades? Women who held important political roles during this period had to negotiate with crusaders and settlers as well as defending their lands against crusading activity. Possibly one of the most fascinating examples is the case of Shajar al-Durr. She started life as a Turkish slave, became a concubine of al-Salih Ayyub, and was promoted to the position of wife. During the invasion of Egypt by Louis IX's crusade in 1249 her husband died, and she quickly had to hatch a plan with the leader of his armed forces to conceal his death until Turanshah, his heir, could be brought from Anatolia to Cairo. In the meantime, the Franks were defeated at the battle of Mansura,

8. Queen Arwa Mosque at Jibla, Yemen.

but the leader of Shajar al-Durr's army also died. Louis was taken into captivity, leaving his heavily pregnant wife Margaret of Provence abandoned in Damietta to negotiate his release. For a brief moment, two women were in key roles of leadership during a crusade conflict. However, the arrival of Turanshah, keen to assume his new powers, upset the delicate balance of power in Cairo. He demanded money from Shajar al-Durr which she did not have, she appealed to the Mamluks (the elite warrior class) for help and they assassinated him. The Mamluks initially declared Shajar al-Durr sultana, but when it was clear that Syrian forces might invade they decided she needed a Mamluk sultan to co-rule with her. She was clearly capable of managing an emergency situation, and helped bring legitimacy to a transfer of power, but for long-term stability a male military commander was preferred. She married and entered into a co-rulership with the Mamluk commander, Aybak, who became sultan. Where there were opportunities to seize power, however, there were also pitfalls which could lead to swift changes in circumstance. Relations broke down between the couple within a few short years, and Shajar al-Durr, fearing for her security, arranged Aybak's murder. Later, her servants confessed under torture and, according to Al-Maqrisi, she was executed by female servants of al-Mansur Ali, Aybak's son, who stripped her and beat her to death with clogs.

Women in the West: Enablers of the Crusades

The crusade movement influenced many women's lives whether they went or stayed behind. They might be left looking after the interests of an absent family member, or be charged with raising money or supplies to support expeditions. Some had to pay off debts racked up by returning crusaders, or had to deal with the legal and financial issues arising when a family member did not return. As regents, they protected the interests of lordship and organized finance to active crusaders. Women also gave property and money to the Church and the military orders to help finance crusading. Changes introduced to the financing of crusades by Innocent III at the turn of the thirteenth century meant that women (and others seen as unfit for the journey) could substitute a cash sum for taking part in a crusade, or finance a knight as a proxy. In England alone, at least sixty-nine women are recorded as supporting crusades financially between the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, pledging dower lands and money, buying land or receiving property from departing crusaders, or as recipients of crusader charity as they sought to make arrangements prior to departure. Essentially, women could get the same spiritual benefits as crusaders for staying at home. Women also played key roles in supporting the crusader preaching process. Countess Ela of Salisbury helped support her son, William II Longespée, by entering a nunnery and passing on his inheritance on his first participation in the Barons Crusade. Ela was a devout patron of the Church and was also connected to crusade preachers such as Edmund of Abingdon. When her son died on his second crusade expedition, at Mansura alongside the forces of Louis IX, Ela had a vision about his death which she ensured would be remembered for posterity by adding it to the history of Lacock Abbey, the institution which she had founded and took over as abbess.

Regency was an exceptionally important role fulfilled by a number of important women on behalf of male kinfolk as a result of crusade vows. Although Eleanor of Aquitaine accompanied her first husband, Louis VII of France, on the Second Crusade, she acted in a regent's capacity for her son, Richard the Lionheart, during the Third Crusade. She was particularly instrumental in helping to finance his release from captivity after he was taken prisoner by Duke Leopold of Austria as a result of a dispute during the crusade. Similarly, Blanche of Castille, an experienced regent who had already looked after the realm during Louis IX's minority, was the natural choice to protect the kingdom of France while her son took the cross. She raised finances and dealt with social upheavals like the Shepherd's Crusade of 1251 during Louis' absence. Women were also expected to perform lordly administrative duties. Countess Adela of Blois was the daughter of William the Conqueror and married to Stephen, a first crusader. She acted as a regent during his crusade and when he went to the Holy Land Stephen left her with some particularly thorny issues to deal with. There was a long-standing dispute between the abbey of Conques and the abbey of Rebais over the priory of Coulommiers which dated back to the time of Stephen's father, Thibaut III. Adela called a tribunal involving bishops and other clerics, and overturned

9. Blanche of Castille and her son Louis IX.

Thibaut's judgement in favour of Conques. Stephen wrote two letters to Adela during the crusade which have become important sources for the circulating of the crusade narrative to communities at home. Some letters purporting to be from crusaders could be untrustworthy, but these letters demonstrate a general regard for Adela's reputation for adept governance. Adela never took the cross herself, but her patronage and anecdotal evidence suggest she was a key 'enabler'. First Crusade historian Baldric of Bourgueil wrote poetry both to Adela and her sister Cecilia, an abbess who had been tutored by first crusader Arnulf of Chocques, later patriarch of Jerusalem. Anglo-Norman chronicler Orderic Vitalis asserted that Adela was so ashamed when her husband Stephen of Blois deserted the First Crusade at Antioch, she used wifely sexual persuasion to encourage him to return to the east. Stephen took the cross again, only to die on the 1101 crusade. Adela then hosted the wedding of first crusader Bohemond of Taranto and Constance of France in 1106, which acted as a recruitment drive for another planned crusade.

Women were also involved in written support for the crusades as patrons of literature, music, and art, and as authors. Several holy women argued in favour of crusades, or offered moral advice. Twelfth-century abbess, mystic, and polymath Hildegarde of Bingen wrote to Philip of Flanders, the son of Sybil and Thierry IV, on the eve of his crusade in 1177, offering advice on how to make it successful. When Gregory XI began developing his crusading plans in the 1370s, Italian saint and mystic Catherine of Siena canvassed for support by writing to a variety of important royals and nobles, including other women such as Giovanna of Naples and Elizabeth of Hungary. St Bridget of Sweden, founder of the Brigittine order, was another key female mystic who felt compelled to write about the crusades and went to Jerusalem as a pilgrim in 1372, long after the 'crusader states' had been defeated by Mamluk rulers of Egypt. In a number of letters, such as those to Magnus IV and VII, king of Sweden and Norway, Bridget exhorted people to fight the pagans and infidels and coordinate a crusade expedition and claimed that Christ had given her special knowledge that would ensure a successful expedition. Christine de Pisan, famous for earning her living as a woman of letters, was not a visionary or a mystic, nor did she follow a religious profession. Widowed and in need of a financial income, she utilized her considerable literary skills to provide translations and original works which often tackled issues relating to women, the most famous perhaps being her *Book of the City of Ladies*. Crusading was such an ever present influence in later medieval Europe that themes related to this topic appeared in several of her writings. In her last work, the *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc* (July 1429), Christine de Pisan related a prophecy of Charles VII as the last emperor, destined to reconquer the Holy Land. She presented Joan of Arc as a champion for God's work on earth and thought she would destroy the 'Saracens' and defeat God's enemies.

Women in the west were also the victims of crusading activity as it expanded into new arenas in Iberia, the Baltic, and Occitan regions of Southern France. In Iberia, expansionist Christian kingdoms periodically called for support from Northern

10. Statue of St Bridget of Sweden, Vadstena abbey, Sweden (1425).

Europe, and queens like Urraca of Castille were particularly important patrons of the military orders who provided key infrastructure for pursuing warfare in the region. From the time of the Second Crusade, participants in Eastern Europe sought to expand and colonize with the authority and blessing of the papacy, encroaching on land traditionally held by Slavic groups such as the Wends. Raiding, capture of property (including female and child slaves), and forced conversions were a perennial feature of life in these regions. Further, a significant criticism of the heretical ideas which flourished in the Albigensian region from the mid-twelfth century onwards was the important role

ascribed to women as *perfectae*, a type of female priest who was able to perform blessings. When Innocent III's papal legate Peter of Castelnau was murdered in 1208, he called a crusade against those whom he saw as protecting heresy in the region. Crusaders flocked from Northern France and other parts of Europe to take part in a crusade on their very doorstep. The first major campaign was directed against Viscount Raymond-Roger Trencavel of Béziers, and resulted in a shocking massacre at the city which resonated across Europe. Papal legate Arnold Amalric, a Cistercian abbot, crowed that the crusaders had spared no one, regardless of rank, sex, or age, and had killed almost 20,000 people. Historians have debated how far the Albigensian crusades were more brutal than others, and certainly we seem to see more shock being registered at the punishments meted out, especially the treatment of women. *Perfectae* and other heretics were usually sentenced to be burnt, with eyewitness and chronicler Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay describing the women as obstinate and going into the flames willingly. Giralda of Lavaur, a female Castellan who had opposed the crusaders was thrown into a well and had stones piled on top of her. The Albigensian crusades also had female supporters, however. *Trobairitz* (female troubadour) Gormonda of Monpeslier wrote a song in defence of the crusade, while Alice of Montmorency, wife of Simon of Montfort, was a key auxiliary, sourcing and providing funds and troops for her husband's campaigns, and interceding with various nobles on his behalf.

Conclusions

Crusading clearly offered some women from the west, usually those with fairly substantial wealth and status, opportunities to fulfil their own personal spiritual ambitions, or possibly even to escape circumstances at home. Others were able to assume roles of greater significance in the household and carry out the functions of lordship in the absence of male authority as regents or caretakers of property and family members. Stories of women's involvement in the crusades provide fascinating reading, yet must always be treated with caution as many of the details come to us through the lens of largely male and ecclesiastical authors who were committed to promoting a movement that deliberately incited and glorified religious hatred. That many women in Western Europe understood and supported this iteration of the crusade message is clear, from their own writings, their patterns of donations to crusades, monasteries, and military orders, through the crusade participation that built up in families joined by marriage, and their roles in the memorialization of crusading family members. For many more, however, crusades inflicted enormous damage as the women in their path became victims of sexual and physical violence, and lost personal freedom as captives. Many were displaced from their homes, had their property stolen, lost family members, friends, or even their own lives. Had they been faced with the stark reality of a medieval crusade, one wonders whether women of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would have been so quick to appropriate its language and symbolism to champion their own causes.

CHAPTER 5

Castles and Fortifications

ADRIAN J. BOAS

FORTIFICATION is the most archetypal manifestation of Frankish rule in the Latin East. Fortification of settlements and construction of castles continued throughout the two centuries of Frankish rule in the mainland Crusader States. All the coastal cities underwent degrees of refortification in this period, as did some of the inland towns and even some rural settlements, churches, and monasteries were fortified.

Urban Fortifications

Considering the overriding need for defence, it is somewhat surprising to find that under Frankish rule some cities had rather poor defences, and some inland towns lacked fortification walls altogether. The important pilgrimage town of Nazareth, for example, had no defensive wall. However, all of the ports cities and important inland towns like Jerusalem already possessed walls when they were occupied by the crusaders in the first years of crusader rule. Indeed, most of the towns along the Syria-Palestine coast had been fortified long before the twelfth century, often several times over. Contemporary descriptions of the sieges of coastal cities in the early years of the twelfth century show that most of the towns were at that time strongly fortified. All of them must have required some degree of patching up following the conquests. Subsequently through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the walls were restored, strengthened, and enhanced with citadels, bastions, new gates, moats, glacis, outer walls, and towers. This was sometimes necessary to repair damage caused by Muslim incursions. There was also the occasional need to restore walls that had fallen into decline as a result of natural deterioration.

Their varying fates after the crusader period have resulted in some towns today displaying few remnants of their medieval defensive constructions. For example, little can now be observed of the once substantial Frankish fortifications of Acre and Tyre, and only paltry remnants of the once significant fortifications of Frankish Jaffa have been exposed in recent excavations. In such cases, we need to rely on evidence gleaned from contemporary maps, illustrations, and textual sources. On the other hand, the fortifications of Caesarea, which under Frankish rule was little more than a minor port,

1. Jerusalem Citadel.

2. The walls of Caesarea.

underwent a major refurbishing in the mid-thirteenth century, and, in spite of having suffered much damage by the Mamluk conquest, substantial remains of the fortifications survive, including curtain walls, towers, glacis, gates, sally ports, and moats, along with the largely battered remains of the citadel. Other towns where medieval fortifications have survived comparatively well are the cities of Tortosa (Tartus) in the north and Ascalon in the south.

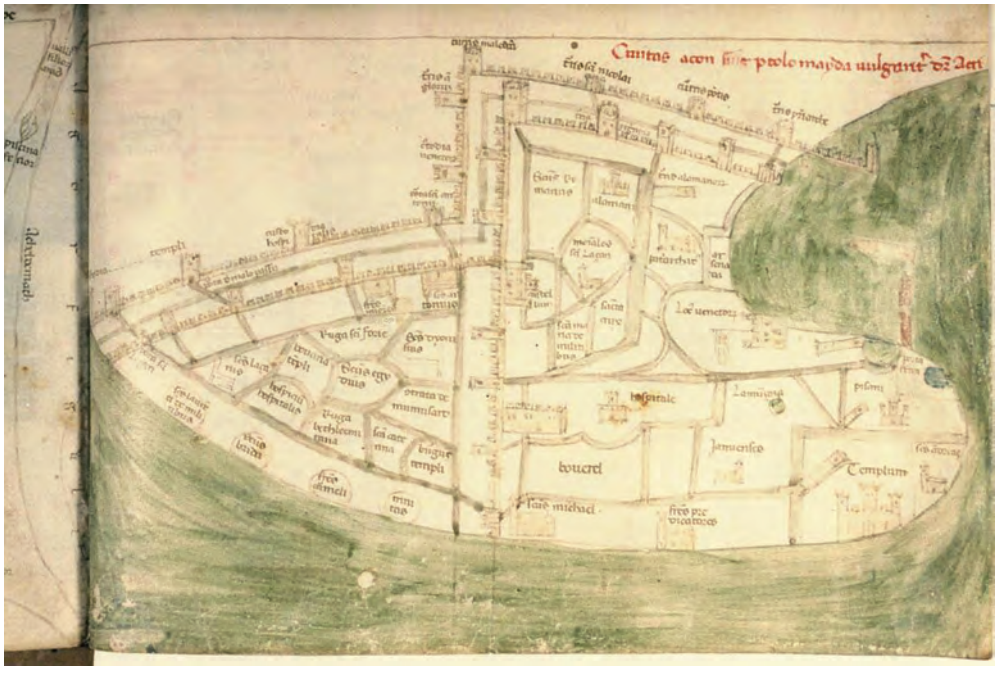
The Franks not only restored existing walls, but in their two centuries of rule occasionally entirely refortified towns, sometimes several times over, for example at least three times in the case of Caesarea. Although the Frankish walls generally followed the lines of former fortification, when cities grew and expanded, new fortifications were occasionally added to defend newly enclosed areas. In at least two cases, at Jaffa and Acre, the existing walls had to be greatly extended in order to include within them large new suburbs that had spread outside the former defences. At Château Pèlerin (ʿAtlit) they constructed entirely new walls to defend the town that had grown up around the Templar fortress after 1220. The Franks strengthened the fortifications of their urban settlements with state-of-the-art features. In these efforts they borrowed freely from European, Byzantine, Armenian, and Muslim examples.

The walls of Jerusalem captured by the Franks in 1099 had previously been repaired on several occasions, most recently in the early and middle eleventh century. Damage caused during the siege of June to July 1099 necessitated extensive renovation in the early years of the twelfth century and repairs are recorded in 1116. Additional repairs and embellishments occurred through the eighty-eight years of crusader rule, in 1177 for example, and again possibly during Frederick II's brief presence in the city in 1229 and the ensuing fifteen years of Frankish rule after it had been restored to the Franks through treaty. Construction of a barbican in front of St Stephen's Gate may date to this period. Evidence for such works can be observed by the presence of typical Frankish construction with its tell-tale tooling and masons' marks. Such masonry can be observed in several places around the city in its walls, towers, and gates, as well as in the citadel (Turris David), where, in the 1160s or early 1170s, the Franks constructed around the tower on its massive ashlar podium, formerly the south-eastern tower of King Herod's palace, a large courtyard complex with several towers. Another citadel, known under the Franks as Tancred's Tower (a reconstruction of the ruined Fatimid tower known as Goliath's Tower or Burj Jalʿud), was located within the walls at the north-west corner of the city. Some of the smaller towers and gates around the city are identified by their masonry as having been constructed under Frankish rule. Just to the west of Dung Gate in the eastern part of the south wall is a small gate with a fortified tower which is easily recognizable as Frankish construction by the typically Frankish diagonal tooling on its stonework. Being in the vicinity of the city tannery, it was known in the twelfth century as the Tanners' Postern. Other possible Frankish gates, remnants of which have been discovered in excavations, are St Lazarus' Postern in the north-west and Beaucayre Postern in the south-west. Remains of the above-mentioned St Stephen's Gate and bastion, also identifiable by its Frankish masonry, can

be observed under and outside the sixteenth-century Damascus Gate in the north. Another Frankish postern, now known as the Single Gate, is located on the southern Temple Mount wall near the south-east corner. Today blocked, it appears to have been built by the Templars to give external access to their stables (Stabula Salomonis) under the Temple Mount.

In the twelfth century, the important port city of Acre appears to have had a single city wall, but by 1212 it was enclosed within double walls which surrounded the old city to the east, and to the north where a new suburb known as Montmusard had developed through the twelfth century. The French king, Louis IX, who during his crusade in 1250–2 had been involved in the construction of defensive works at Caesarea, Sidon, and elsewhere, conducted work at Acre as well, probably including much of the impressive double walls, numerous gates, rectangular and round towers, glacis, and ditches that are depicted on the fourteenth-century maps of the city. Acre's walls were systematically levelled together with the entire city in 1291 and only small sections of the fortifications have been exposed by modern archaeological excavations.

The Roman/Byzantine walls of the southern coastal town of Ascalon replaced more ancient fortifications above the semi-circular Middle Bronze Age ramparts that circumscribe the city. Rebuilt in the seventh century and restored in the eleventh, they were again enhanced following the Frankish conquest of the city in 1153. At that time they underwent considerable repair works and were improved by the construction of indirect gateways and new towers. The Franks employed in these constructions very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solid, sandstone masonry, occasionally with through-columns (a wall-strengthening technique made use of by the Franks at Caesarea, Sidon, and elsewhere) and extremely hard cement. The city had four gates, and sources refer to fifty-three towers around the walls. On the east was the Great Gate (Porta Major) or Jerusalem Gate, the best defended of the gates, with a barbican. In the south was a gate facing Gaza, in the north the gate to Jaffa, and there was a sea gate (Porta Maris). A citadel was constructed on a low hill on the shore to the north and, like those at Arsuf (Arsur, Apollonia) and Tortosa, was separated from the town by its own surrounding ditch.

The port city of Caesarea had been fortified since its foundation by Herod on the site of the pre-Roman town of Straton's Tower (Stratonospyrgos). In the Byzantine period (fourth to seventh centuries), when it reached its peak in population and size, the city was given extensive new walls. But through the early Islamic period Caesarea shrank considerably, and by the eve of the crusader conquest in 1101 it was already of the comparatively small size that it retained throughout the crusader period. The walls at this time enclosed an area of only *c.*450 by *c.*250 metres. The walls were nonetheless described by contemporary chroniclers as impregnable, and according to descriptions of the siege of 1101, the city had two lines of defence. In the two centuries of Frankish rule, the walls were rebuilt several times. In 1217 John of Brienne refortified Caesarea, but these walls were damaged by the Ayyubid ruler al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa in 1219–20. In 1228 new work began on repairing the fortifications, but the most important work was carried out by King Louis IX in 1251–2. He reconstructed and strengthened the citadel on the harbour and enhanced the curtain walls with gates, glacis, a broad moat, and sixteen towers. In 1265 the Mamluks destroyed parts of the walls and burned down the gates.

Louis IX's fortifications are the finest example of medieval urban fortifications surviving in the Levant. Caesarea's fortifications were cleared and partly restored in the 1960s, with additional excavations by the French archaeological mission between 2007 and 2011, and development work since 2015. The latter conducted an extensive survey and made a number of probes at various points along the walls, excavating two of the towers.

The walls extend from the citadel on the shore to the south, in an easterly direction, past the southern postern at which point they turn north, and eventually west, and back to the shore. There are altogether three posterns, one near the south-east corner, one at the centre of the eastern wall and one on the north-east. There are defended gates on the south, east, and north, the main one being the eastern gate, sometimes referred to as the Jerusalem Gate. The northern and the eastern gates had drawbridges and the entire length of the city wall, except on the sea front, had a stone-lined dry moat. Of the citadel little remains. A small moat, filled by sea water, separated the citadel from the town.

The medieval fortifications of Jaffa, like those of Acre, were expanded to enclose a new suburb. Most of the medieval defences have not survived. A small section was exposed at the south-eastern edge of the ancient tell and the old city. It included a large

circular base of a tower, with a glacis preserved to over 3 metres high, and a section of the adjacent moat that was up to 14 metres wide, along with remains of a massive, pillared building that may have been a tower or gate and a section of the wall's foundation trench.

The port town of Sidon had walls surrounded by a ditch and two citadels—the Land Castle in the south-east built over the remains of an ancient theatre, and a second one known as the Sea Castle located on a small island in the northern harbour. The walls, towers, and moat were rebuilt by Louis IX between 1253 and 1254, extending about 600 metres along the eastern side of the town. From the Land Castle in the south, the wall turned south-west to the sea at a distance of about 200 metres.

The small town of Arsuf north of Jaffa was enclosed within a simple defensive wall with towers and gates and a dry moat. Its most impressive defensive element remains the large castle surrounded by its own broad moat. The layout of the northern coastal town of Tortosa is similar to that of Arsuf, though the site is flatter and lacks the steep cliffs that gave Arsuf a natural defence. At Tortosa, the Templars built a massive citadel in the north-western corner of the town. The city fortifications had towers and a moat, and the citadel with its massive keep was also surrounded by its own moat and had an outer wall with projecting towers. The important port city of Tyre was extremely strongly fortified under the Franks. They strengthened the walls and built the citadel in 1210. Tyre had double walls facing the sea and triple walls and a ditch on the landward side to the east.

One of the few fortified inland towns was Banyas, located on the north-eastern frontier of the kingdom of Jerusalem below Mount Hermon. Its fortifications enclose the small rectangular town, covering an area of about 250 by 220 metres. Along their length are eight large projecting towers, and a castle incorporating Roman remains was located at the north-west. A moat aligned the walls to the north and east. On the west and south are slopes of a stream bed. The town's gates were on the south side and were reached by arched bridges built over the stream.

From this survey of some of the fortified towns during the period of Frankish rule in the Levant, it becomes apparent that considerable effort was made at much expense to defend the towns with strong walls. Other than Jerusalem, which because of its importance to the kingdom underwent much refortification in this period, most of the effort was devoted to defending the coastal towns, in particular the main port cities. This was the logical consequence of the need to hold the ports and retain through them contact with the west.

Rural Fortifications

For much of the period of crusader rule the countryside of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the other Crusader States lay exposed and vulnerable to possible enemy incursions. At times, this danger intensified, as for example in the years of Saladin's invasions into Frankish territory prior to the battle of Hattin (1187). Whereas most Frankish villages appear to have relied for their defence on the presence of a tower or

fortified hall house, some, such as the village that grew up around the small fortress of Castellum Regis (Mi'ilia) in Western Galilee, were indeed fortified with defensive walls. Here, a 2.2–2.4 metre wall, at least 6 metres high, was constructed around parts of the village and the castle. In other locations, the church itself could take on a defensive role, and possessed massive walls and defensive features. The pilgrimage Church of Resurrection at Abu Ghosh (Emmaus) had walls 2.5–3.5 metres thick and possessed other defensive mechanisms. The monastery of St Samuel (Nebi Samwil, Montjoie, Mons Gaudi) was undergoing construction of a massive enclosing fortification including vaults and a broad rock-cut moat in the days leading up to the battle of Hattin. The work was incomplete at the time Saladin arrived in the area.

Castles

The defensive strategy of the Franks centred around an understanding that the best means of defending the Frankish population in the case of a large-scale invasion of Muslim forces was by altogether avoiding a direct field encounter, and instead by taking refuge in strongly defended outposts. In 1911 T.E. Lawrence, better known by his wartime epithet of Lawrence of Arabia, who had shortly before completed his MA dissertation on crusader castles, remarked in a letter that the entire history of the crusades was a struggle for the possession of the castles that guarded the main routes and weak points of the kingdom. This statement points to two important aspects of crusader castles that are worth consideration. Possession of the castles was regarded by both sides in the conflict between Christians and Muslims as essential to the control of the countryside, and castles were intricately connected to routes which fundamentally says the same thing. Control of the castles meant control of the routes and therefore control of the countryside.

Castles were not entirely an invention of the Middle Ages. There were non-residential fortified buildings in earlier periods, such as urban fortifications and the fortified military camps or *castra* of the Roman period, but the Middle Ages, particularly in the Latin East, represent a zenith in castle history. It was in this period and in that region that the castle as a fortified residence of a private individual or of an organization such as a military order, evolved in all its complexity. This was because the castle very suitably fulfilled the needs of a minority Western Christian ruling society over a numerically vastly greater Muslim adversary. Even in its most secure period, after the fall of Ascalon in 1153, and prior to the incursions of Saladin from the 1170s on, Frankish territories were constantly exposed to the threat of invasion and internal unrest. Consequently, defensive structures characterized the period, and although fortifications were not limited to castles, and city walls, but were also applied to some ecclesiastical and domestic buildings, castles certainly represent the essence of defensive architecture.

In the two centuries of Frankish rule in the Levant, a large number of castles of varying size and complexity were constructed. There are estimated to be about a

hundred castles in the kingdom of Jerusalem alone, albeit most were quite simple and small-scale structures. The necessity to build castles testifies to the instability of the Christian rule in the east but is testimony also to the ingenuity and inventiveness of the Franks, and their ability to overcome seemingly insurmountable difficulties with creative and original solutions. The main dilemma facing the Frankish population in the east was how to defend itself against a numerically vastly superior enemy, and the function that the castles fulfilled is generally regarded as being primarily a defensive one. But in reality, they were equally fulfilling a role in administration. The castle was an indispensable tool, on the one hand, defending the transferred European settler population and Christian pilgrims and travellers to the Holy Land, and on the other, administering and keeping in line the local populations, eastern Christian and Muslim.

The once-held belief that fortresses were constructed with some sort of masterplan —to form a defensive line along the borders and roads of the kingdom—has long been recognized as fallacious. When observing at what point in time these castles were built, by whom, and for what purpose, it becomes clear that castle building was, with few exceptions, a private enterprise, carried out by individuals or specific organizations and with their own interests at heart, rather than part of a broad, unified scheme decided upon and carried out by a central authority. In the Latin East there was no Maginot or Hindenburg Line. The nearest castles came to forming a system of defence was in a handful of cases in which a small group of fortresses was constructed surrounding a problematic location—generally an enemy-occupied city that the Franks desired to besiege or cut off—in order to prevent it from serving as an outpost from which the Frankish-held countryside could be attacked or invaded. This was the case at Ascalon and Tyre. Elsewhere, castles did not form a front or defend a border. If they occasionally appear to do so, it is an illusion that has resulted from our not having taken into consideration that not all the castles existed at the same time. Castles that appear to form a line on a map often do not do so and there are generally extensive undefended spaces between them. What they did do was serve as places of refuge and places to muster troops and store essential items so that if an incursion were underway, they could provide for the needs of a defending army. But there was another function of castles that evolved as a consequence of their presence in the countryside and that played a role in shaping them, for the degree of their effectiveness was directly related to their physical appearance. Castles provided a sense of security in the countryside and enabled settlements to grow up in their shadows. The larger and more powerful their appearance, the greater this perception of security. This is probably the explanation for some of the excessively imposing architecture of the great regional fortresses like Crac des Chevaliers, Margat (Marqab), Château Pèlerin, and Saphet (Safed, Tsafat), the impressive topographical siting of many of the castles, even small ones, and their formidable masonry. The more powerful and prominent they appeared, the greater attraction they had for potential settlers who would depend upon their presence for protection in times of danger. When King Fulk built the castle of Blanchegarde (Tell es-Safi, Tel Tsafit, Alba Specula, Alba Custodia) in 1142, Frankish villagers, sensing the

security it provided, settled around it and, according to William of Tyre, the whole area became populated and much safer. Castles became kernels of new urban and rural settlement and served as fortified administrative centres. Prior to the studies of Pringle and Ellenblum, the administrative role of the castles, whether as small-scale centres of rural administration or as centres of royal, baronial, Church, or military order estates, had often been either entirely overlooked or played down. In fact, it was a role that was no less essential to the survival of the Latin settlement as the defensive one.

In the two centuries of Frankish rule the medieval fortress underwent a greater degree of technological development than in any other period. The evolution of fortifications and in particular of castles in the Crusader States can be regarded as one of the greatest achievements of Frankish rule. It was a reciprocal evolution, developing as siege weapons improved, as they did through the twelfth century and into the thirteenth. What makes these efforts so remarkable is that they occurred in a comparatively short span of time. At the beginning of the crusader period, the settlers constructed fortresses of the most basic form—towers and enclosure castles, simple structures that were capable of fulfilling a limited administrative role and serving as refuges, but which had few or no offensive capabilities. By the thirteenth century the Franks, in particular the wealthy military orders, were building vast, state-of-the-art structures incorporating accumulated knowledge and all the latest technology. Another remarkable aspect of their fortification was the proficiency the Franks displayed in borrowing and adapting from others, Muslims, Armenians, and Byzantines.

Castles are of such complexity that, in an effort to understand and discuss them, scholars have employed a variety of frameworks such as chronology, sources of architectural inspiration, ownership and initiators, functions and typology. Being such enigmatic structures—Lawrence drolly but aptly referred to them as being 'exceptions to an unknown rule'—it is not surprising to find that most discussions relate to more than one of these frameworks, often in a manner that is not entirely satisfactory. For a large part, the difficulty in discussing castles lies in the uneven quantity and detail of references to them in contemporary written sources, in the equally uneven degree of modern archaeological exploration, and in the vastly unbalanced extent of their survival. Some castles, such as those at Darom and Gaza, have entirely disappeared from sight. Others are preserved to a degree, but have subsequently undergone much rebuilding, and still others, Crac des Chevaliers for example, are preserved almost intact. Some fortresses are broadly described in contemporary sources, others are hardly mentioned at all, sometimes only named. As a result of a dearth of information in more than a few cases, Judin (Yehim, Qalʾat Jiddin) for example, we cannot date them very accurately. For some, although certain physical remains survive, we do not even have names. Castles occasionally changed hands, and many began as quite small structures built by a regional lord, and at a subsequent time were purchased, often by one of the wealthy military orders, and greatly expanded. Sometimes, as at Belmont (Suba) their form and function entirely changed. Add to this the fact that modern research is very uneven, with some castles intensively investigated

and excavated and others neglected and entirely untouched. This is particularly true of the smaller, twelfth-century castles. Otto Smail, in comparing the twelfth-century fortifications to those of the thirteenth, noted that whereas some of the latter have been thoroughly examined and have even come under the archaeologist's spade, the earlier ones have often only been visited by 'a succession of itinerant students' and these visits are generally of very short duration 'rarely exceeding a few days and often only for a few hours', hardly enough time to grasp an appreciation of buildings that were in a ruinous state and encumbered by 'debris, vegetation, and modern buildings'.

All of this makes it difficult to know how best to approach the topic of castles as a whole. One way is to consider what role they were intended to play. The principal functions of castles were as centres for regional administration and occasionally organization administration, or as frontier or road defence. An example of regional administration is the tower at Bessan (Beit She'an) that served as the headquarters and fortified residence of a local lord, from which he could administer the lordship, oversee the local Christian and non-Christian population, and, most importantly, collect taxes. Examples of institutional administration are Margat and Montfort. Toron des Chevaliers (Latrun) and Jacob's Ford are examples of fortresses that served as roadside and frontier castles. All castles are built in varying degrees for defensive purposes, many as refuges and many for supplying and mustering an army in times of invasion. Bethgibelin (Beit Guvrin, Bait Jibrin) is an example of an offensive fortress, a place from which, when necessary, troops could go out to attack the enemy.

4. Bessan (Bait Shean) Tower.

Castle Typology

Any discussion requires a typology. The problem with this is that although one can define most castles as belonging to a specific type—towers, enclosure castles, spur castles, and hilltop castles for example, some simply do not quite fit into any of those categories and some seem to fall under more than one type. For all its shortcomings, the most useful way of relating to castles is by their form. In spite of the considerable differences between castle designs—differences that are the outcome of location, resources, and requirements—most castles do indeed fall into types that can be defined to a considerable degree by their layout. Consequently, several scholars have opted, with occasional minor variances to refer to categories such as towers, enclosure or courtyard castles, and castles built on mountain tops or mountain spurs, or on islands, and shaped by following the contours of these topographical features. And there is as good a reason to follow a design categorization as a chronological one. Although one can observe a chronological development in castle design, the earliest castles, those built between 1099 and the 1170s or 1180s were mainly isolated towers or various types of enclosure castles, and subsequent to that many, possibly most, castles built were those built on mountain tops and mountain spurs, early examples being Karak de Moab in Transjordan and Saone (Sahyun, Salah ad-Din) in Syria.

5. Saone Castle (Sahyun, Salah el-Din).

A: Frankish Towers

The Franks made significant use of stone towers, particularly in the early years of Frankish rule when they lacked the financial means and technological know-how to build great fortresses. The tower was easy to construct, solid enough to provide adequate defences and to enable the garrison to hold out under siege for a certain time, and spacious enough at least to enable the presence of a small garrison and the storage of supplies, equipment, and livestock. Towers proved an efficient way to establish a secure presence in the countryside. In the early years numerous towers were constructed throughout the Frankish-held territories. These buildings shared, alongside their military function, an administrative one (a feature indeed of virtually all types of castles) and, by necessity, a domestic function. This was more prominent in the tower because, being a comparatively small structure, a substantial portion of it, generally the entire upper storey, was devoted to living space. Denys Pringle noted the similarity of these towers to a European type of residential building devoted to administrative purposes, one that also made a limited appearance in the Latin East—the hall house. Built by landowning nobles who resided in the cities, towers, and hall houses were residences of caretakers who managed the rural estates, defended Frankish rural settlement, and served as regional depots for tax collecting and as the seat of rural courts. The architectural source of these Frankish towers remains something of a mystery. They have no near-equivalent in the west at the turn of the twelfth century, the wooden tower of the European motte and bailey type castle being quite a different affair. Through the first half of the century these buildings sprouted throughout the countryside of the Latin East like mushrooms after a rainfall. In the east, the nearest similar type of structure was the residential stone tower of Byzantine Syria (tenth century), which probably served an exclusively domestic function.

The Frankish tower often stood alone, sometimes with some form of outworks, though often with none. Its strength lay in the massive thickness of its walls which could be 3 or 4 metres in width, constructed of large stones and with few and narrow openings. Its main drawback was that, rarely having defensive features such as salient towers or machicolations that would enable it to carry out some degree of active defence, it could easily be placed under siege. Lawrence put it perhaps overly simply when he wrote that the besiegement of such a castle required only two men placed either side of the single door. The military role these towers played was one of passive defence for their garrisons and, in times of invasion, also for local Frankish communities who would gather inside. The administrative role was to serve as a depot for goods taken as taxes and tithes from the local rural population, as the location of certain monopolistic installations used by the local peasants for payment to the lord, and as the place where rural court sessions were held. For the latter purpose some of these towers would have contained a first-floor hall.

Frankish towers were generally not very large. The use of massive stone vaulting often limited them to two stories. One of the few exceptions is the western tower at

Qal'at Jiddin, another, the tower at Jaba' (Gabaa). Some were quite small. The smallest are two towers on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho—Maldoim (9.3 by 8.5 metres) and Beit Jubr at-Tahtani (9.5 by 6.6–8.1 metres), possibly both Templar possessions. Others, like the keep of Saone fortress and Chastel Blanc (Safita) in the county of Tripoli were quite large, the former measuring 24.5 by 24.5 metres, the latter reaching a height of 25 metres. The upper storey of these towers served as living quarters and was reached by a staircase, often built into the thickness of the wall. Lighting was via a limited number of windows on the upper floor and by arrow embrasures. Some towers had defended entrances with slit or box machicolation or a portcullis above the door.

6. Hospitaller Castle—Chastel Blanc.

Floors were of packed lime, flagstones, or stone slabs. There was always a cistern under the ground floor; a fundamental necessity in a building intended to serve as a refuge through an extended siege; and a defensive area or firing platform on the roof. In some there were elements for domestic use—kitchens, latrines, and fireplaces; occasionally chapels.

Even some of the smaller towers had some sort of outer fortification which at times could be quite insubstantial, little more than a containing wall, for example in the case of Tour Rouge (Burj al-Ahmar) in the Sharon plain. Elsewhere they were more substantial such as the tower of Bessan, which was enclosed within a vaulted enclosure castle and a water-filled moat. Many of the Frankish towers stood isolated in the countryside, but others were incorporated in larger structures, sometimes with extensive outer fortifications. Such was the case at Chastel Blanc, where the dominant tower was enclosed within two lines of fortifications including an outer polygonal ring wall with towers and vaulted chambers. In others, such as Beaufort, the added constructions were so vast and dominant that the towers became merely one element in a much larger fortress.

When towers were employed as an integral part of a larger castle they are often referred to as the keep or donjon. Such massive towers in the great fortresses were used as refuges in times of siege and fulfilled other functions in peacetime. The keep at Montfort, which contained the chapel, had walls 7 to 8 metres thick and may have been over 20 metres high. The round keep at Margat was 20 metres in diameter and 24 metres high and had walls up to 10 metres thick. The keep of the castle of Saone in the principality of Antioch was among the greatest of these. It formed part of the main, eastern defences of the fortress overlooking the deep rock-cut moat and the mountain spur to the east. As these keeps constituted just one feature in larger and often complex fortresses, their functions were different from those of the isolated towers. They were part of a fortress's main defensive system and, as well as serving administrative functions, were the principal strongholds, which could serve as final refuges if during a siege the outer defences failed.

B: Enclosure Castles and Quadriburgia

Enclosure castles, consisting, in their simplest form, of four walls surrounding an open courtyard in which various structures could be built, was a type of fortress that did not require great technological knowledge and could be constructed comparatively quickly and at comparatively little cost—factors that were of great advantage in the early years of Frankish rule when there were few resources, and the threat of enemy attack was constantly present. Consequently, along with the tower this was the most popular type of castle throughout the first half of the twelfth century. The enclosure castle could be considerably larger in area than a tower, often around 50 metres square. It provided a larger functional defended space for domestic use and included an open area that could serve for certain essential outdoor activities.

A considerable improvement over simple quadrangular enclosure castles was the addition of projecting towers at the corners and sometimes at additional positions along the curtain walls. These towers, with firing positions on their external faces, enabled archers to defend the bases of the fortifications, which, without projecting towers would be blind spaces that would enable an attacker, should he reach the base of the wall, to work at dismantling it without fear of being fired upon. Such castles were known as quadriburgia and are called castra by some scholars, a somewhat problematic term as it had other meanings as well. Early on the Franks adopted this more advanced type. It was a vast improvement as it enabled the castle to play a more active defensive role. This was not a new type of castle. Similar in form to Roman fortified camps, this design was particularly prevalent in the late Roman and Byzantine periods (third to seventh centuries) when it was used for frontier forts such as Tamara in Eastern Negev and Ain Boqek on the west bank of the Dead Sea. It continued to appear in Umayyad desert palaces like Khirbat al-Mafjar at Jericho and Khirbat al-Minya by the Sea of Galilee and in coastal forts, notably at Castellum Beroart (Minat al-Qalʾa, Ashdod Yam) in the south, and Kafr Lam, adopted by the Franks as Cafarlet (Habonim) 8 kilometres south of ʿAtlit. These latter were used by the Franks from the moment they fell into their hands. Kafr Lam was held variously by the Hospitallers and by the Templars. A well-preserved trapezoidal structure, it measures 57/42.5 by 63 metres. It was constructed, as indeed are most buildings along the coast, of the local sandstone known as kurkar. It has round towers at the corners and additional towers on either side of the gate to the south. The walls, 1.5–2.3 metres thick, were strengthened by external buttresses. In form it is similar to Castellum Beroart, which measured 35 by 55 metres and also has round corner towers with solid bases, and gates to the east and west, each flanked by two towers.

Some early scholars of crusader castles believed that the use of the quadriburgia could be seen as evidence that the source of Frankish fortification design was chiefly Byzantine, although this design came to the Franks via the early Islamic buildings. In fact, the quadriburgia were just one of a number of influences in castle design, alongside those of Europe, Armenia, and the Muslim east, and most later scholars, from Lawrence onward, were aware of these more complex origins. The earliest known Frankish use of this design is in the castles built around Fatimid Ascalon in the 1130s and 1140s and in various other examples such as Castellum Regis in Western Galilee, which may have been built by King Fulk. The most detailed contemporary descriptions of the castles built around Ascalon are those of the Frankish chronicler, William of Tyre. He describes Darum (Deir al-Balah), south of Gaza as a small, square fort with towers at each corner, one of which was more massive and better fortified than the others. Bethgibelin, Ibelin (Yavne, Yibne), and Blanchegarde were similar in form, though, as we know today, the latter was much smaller in size. The quadriburgium of Coliath, in the county of Tripoli, is another example, probably also of an early-twelfth-century date though subsequently, after being in Muslim hands for some time, rebuilt in the mid-thirteenth century. Most of these fortresses had additional outworks

7. Castellum Regis (Mi'ilya).

added to them at a later stage, sometimes, as in the case of Bethgibelin, being substantial works in their own right, with several towers, defended entrances and moats.

In order to make approach and access more difficult for a besieger, and occasionally as the result of a specific new threat, outer defences were added to many fortresses, increasing their size, and making them more difficult to break into. In some cases, the outer defences enclosed not only the original fortress but also settlements that had grown up around them. Ibelin, Blanchegarde, and Bethgibelin were fortresses that were constructed around Ascalon while the city was still in Fatimid hands, with the aim of preventing raiders from the city encroaching on Frankish settlements and townships. Darum was built later, as a defence near the frontier with Egypt. By 1191 Darum had greatly increased in size through the addition of fortifications defended by seventeen towers. This expansion may have been in answer to the 1170 invasion of the kingdom by Saladin.

Survey work and excavations at Blanchegarde on Tell es-Safi have shown that the exceedingly small castle (16 by 16 metres), perhaps, in fact, a turreted tower rather than a quadriburgium, underwent a similar expansion, although the extent of its outworks remains to be estimated. Blanchegarde occupied the peak of Tell es-Safi, 215 metres

above sea level, overlooking a vast area stretching from Ramla and Latrun in the north, the Hebron hills and Judean foothills in the east, Northern Negev in the south, and across the plain to the coast from Yavne to Gaza. Its name, White Guardhouse, derived from the chalk cliffs below the castle to the west. Blanchegarde fell to Saladin in 1187 after the battle of Hattin. He dismantled it in 1191. It was subsequently briefly recovered by Richard I, but then handed over to the Muslims in fulfilment of the terms of a treaty between the crusaders and the Ayyubids. Recovered in 1241, it was held by the Franks only until 1244.

William of Tyre describes Blanchegarde as a typical quadriburgium; 'a stronghold of hewn stone, resting on solid foundations…adorned with four towers of suitable height…from the top of this there was an unobstructed view as far as the enemy's city [Ascalon]…'. The remains of two of the towers still survive on the peak, and hillocks formed by the remains of the other two are visible. A plan published by Emmanuel Rey shows a central keep, but there is no evidence for this today and it seems unlikely that one existed as the enclosure is so small. The outworks, also partly shown on Rey's plan, are better founded, a small section being recently exposed in ongoing excavations at the site, and the ruins of a gate tower to the north uncovered in excavations carried out in 1899–1900.

The best-known case of the expansion of these small fortresses is at Bethgibelin. Much of its defensive system has been exposed in excavations carried out between 1993 and 1997 and it displays a clear picture of how small and medium-size castles were enhanced as new threats evolved. Originally built in 1134 as an isolated castle within and covering earlier ruins, which were made use of by the Franks, it was the first of a series of castles built with the aim of deterring raids from Ascalon. It was granted to the Hospitallers in 1136. After the fall of Ascalon, Bethgibelin, having lost its original function, but now being in a region no longer regarded as under threat, became part of the Frankish effort in the mid-century years to commence a settlement of Franks in the countryside, in this case a Hospitaller-owned village with a large church attached to the southern side of the castle. However, by 1170, with the rise of Saladin and renewal of a threat from Egypt, Bethgibelin, like many other small fortresses, underwent large-scale expansion, with considerable outworks, curtain walls, towers and ditches, fortified gateways, and entrance passages. After the battle of Hattin, it was lost to the Franks, briefly returning to them between 1240 and 1244.

Excavations between 1993 and 1997 exposed the quadriburgium (46 by 48 metres), the attached basilica church, and the two outer lines of defensive works that enclose a large area where the Hospitaller village may have been located, although excavations revealed no evidence for it and it may have been located further south. A Roman amphitheatre appears to have served as stables.

To the inherited design of the quadriburgium and under the influence of Byzantine double-line fortifications, such as the fifth-century Theodosian walls of Constantinople, the Franks derived a more sophisticated type of fortress, consisting of two quadriburgia, one inside the other, and, in accordance with the principal of double-

8. Bethgibelin Castle (Beit Guvrin).

line fortification, where the inner walls rise high enough above the outer to allow them to defend the latter from above. Only two such castles are known today in the Latin East. The earlier, larger, and more perfect is Hospitaller Belvoir Castle (Kaukab al-Hawa, Kohav Hayarden), which overlooks the Jordan Valley.

Belvoir, north of Bessan on the eastern frontier of the kingdom of Jerusalem and overlooking to its south the road from Beit She'an to Acre and to its east the river Jordan and the Damascus-Jerusalem road, is not only the finest example of this innovative design. It is indeed one of the finest castles ever built by the Franks. A small castle or estate centre was built in the first half of the twelfth century on the site of a Second Temple period Jewish town called Kochava. Owned by a family named Velos it was sold to the Hospitallers in 1168. They subsequently built a fortress on the site that would have been regarded at the time as state of the art in medieval military architecture. Indeed, it would subsequently become the model for some of the finest castles built in the west, such as Harlech and Beaumaris in Wales. It was constructed using the local basalt, either in the form of large, rusticated ashlars or as roughly shaped fieldstones. In addition, limestone was quarried at a site to the west for decorative use and in the upper storey.

The two wards consisted of an inner two-storey quadriburgium surrounding an inner courtyard and an outer one-storey quadriburgium. This arrangement allowed the castle's two defensive lines to be active together—the taller inner ward overlooking the outer one and being able to fire over it from above, while the outer ward provided

9. Belvoir Castle (Kaukab al-Hawa, Kohav Hayarden).

barrier protection for the inner one. The inner ward, being most protected, served as the living quarters for the garrison. Its ground floor consists of a series of barrel-vaulted halls surrounding the central courtyard. It has corner towers and a large gate tower on the west. It contained a water cistern, the kitchen, various installations, probably a refectory, and vaults used as storage space on the ground level and on the upper level a chapel, a dormitory, and other features. The outer ward was devoted to storage in the vast barrel-vaulted halls and the stables. It also included a large water cistern fed via an aqueduct carrying water from an external spring, a bakery, a bathhouse, and a forge. Defensive features included two gates: a strongly defended main gate on the south-east, another that was reached by a suspended bridge over the ditch on the west, and a number of sally ports in the towers. On the south, west, and north sides of the outer ward was a rock-cut moat, 10 metres deep and 20 metres wide, while on the east, facing the steep drop down to the Jordan Valley, was a large barbican.

After the battle of Hattin, Belvoir held out against a Muslim siege for a year and a half, falling only on 5 January 1189 when the Ayyubids successfully undermined the barbican. The Franks surrendered although the attackers had not managed to penetrate the inner fortress. This is testimony to the castle's strength and the effectiveness of its design. Saladin demolished the church but appears to have repaired the walls. However, between 1217 and 1219 Belvoir was partly dismantled by al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa, who

removed the upper storey of the inner ward. It was subsequently abandoned, and although in 1241 it was returned to the Hospitallers, they probably did not conduct any restoration and finally abandoned it around 1263. An Ottoman village named Kaukab al-Hawa occupied the ruins until 1948, and in the 1960s extensive excavations and partial restoration were carried out. A renewed joint Israeli-French project of excavations and research commenced in 2013.

The only other similar fortress in the Latin East is Saranda Kolones at Paphos in Western Cyprus. It had a brief lifespan. Having been built in 1200, it was destroyed by an earthquake in 1222. It was considerably smaller than Belvoir: about 60 square metres, which is similar to the size of the inner ward of Belvoir. It does, however, bear similarity in its overall layout, although less so in details. It has a far less dramatic setting on a low rise above Paphos harbour compared to Belvoir's strategic prominence over the Jordan valley. Unlike Belvoir it has not only rectangular, but round and triangular projecting towers, and its unvaulted outer defences are less impressive than those at Belvoir. Similar to Belvoir, however, are the location of its living quarters in the inner ward and the presence of several elements found in the larger castle, such as stables, a bakery, a forge, and a chapel. It also has several latrines located in piers of the inner complex that drain into sewerage channels cut in the bedrock below.

Considering the remarkable design of Belvoir and its effectivity, it seems remarkable that the only other castle of this type known in the Latin East is the minor castle at Paphos. In part, the explanation for this is that, following the battle of Hattin and the loss of Frankish control over the hinterland, the Franks had neither the ability nor the need for the construction of additional castles. They had lost most of their territory and much of their financial base. Another explanation is that by the second half of the twelfth century the Franks were facing an enemy with much more effective weaponry, and castles built on level terrain, no matter how cleverly designed, were now exposed and vulnerable.

The Ayyubid army had begun to employ a stone-throwing weapon known as the counterweight trebuchet, replacing the torsion-powered mangonels and traction trebuchets that had long been in use in the region. The new weapon was of far greater effectiveness, and the only means of lessening the danger was by building castles in locations such as on hilltops surrounded by steep slopes, places where such weapons could only be fired from a considerable distance, and consequently would be less effective, or even entirely obsolete. With the introduction and increased use of the counterweight trebuchet most of the fortresses subsequently built in the Latin East indeed made use of topographical advantages to counter the use of these weapons. Enclosure castles, even the most innovative and effective ones like Belvoir, became outdated and were abandoned.

C: Spur Castles and Hilltop Castles

The apogee of Frankish castle design is the spur castle. It is the form that was employed for the largest, most remarkable, and technologically advanced fortresses of the Latin

east. The term refers to a castle built on a mountain spur between two converging valleys, one that makes use of the steep slopes on the two sides as a natural defence, enhancing it only to the degree that is necessary, with curtain walls and towers, and defending its remaining side, that facing the continuation of the spur, which, generally being level, was the weakest side, and required massive, manmade defences including towers, thick curtain walls, and deep moats.

Spur castles were located in some of the more vulnerable regions under Frankish rule, particularly the hilly areas in the mountainous parts of the northern states and in the frontier region to the east. The great spur castles often controlled major roads and valley passes. Large in size, they could house a large garrison and store quantities of supplies necessary for a major campaign. Like smaller castles, they also served as administrative centres for the immediate districts they overlooked and for military order administrative centres.

The great Teutonic castle of Montfort (Qal'at Qurein) is located in the foothills of Western Galilee about 19 kilometres north-east of Acre. It is situated 180 metres above a perennial stream, Nahal Kziv (Wadi Qurein) to its north and a smaller dry valley to its south. It occupies the lowest part of a spur descending from the east. It was built in the mid-1220s after the site came into the hands of the Teutonic Knights, along with extensive property in the region including the small fortress of Castellum Regis. Subsequently the order also built Judin to the south-west of Montfort. Montfort became the administrative centre of the order, official residence of the grand master

10. Montfort Castle.

when in the Holy Land, treasury, and repository for the order's archives. It was unsuccessfully besieged in 1266 and was besieged again in 1271, when it fell and was destroyed by Baybars.

The massive keep on the east was cut off from the spur by a moat 20 metres wide and 11 metres deep. A second moat, narrow at its base but about 5 metres wide at the top, was excavated about 50 metres further to the east. These two elements—moats and keep—effectively isolated the castle from the spur. The keep, probably of two storeys and built with huge, rusticated ashlars, was apsidal in form and constructed over a large cistern. To the west was a large two-storey structure, the ground floor groin vaulted, originally open, but later subdivided into separate chambers containing a kitchen, a forge, a large wine press, storage rooms, cisterns, and an adjacent latrine outside its wall on the south. The upper storey, which was dismantled in 1266 or 1271, housed the knights' dormitory, refectory, and other communal elements required in a military order house. Further west was a three-storey administrative building with a basement consisting of two huge barrel vaults above which was the castle's great hall: a large, Gothic-style rib-vaulted structure supported on a central octagonal column, and above that, luxurious apartments of the castellan or the grand master. The building was decorated with wall paintings, sculpture, and stained-glass windows. To its west was an earlier, two-storey structure consisting of a barrel-vaulted cistern above which was another recently rediscovered Gothic hall. Around this complex that constituted the upper or inner ward was an outer ward with defensive walls on the west and north, containing several structures, among these a large stable complex.

Kerak of Moab was one of the earliest Frankish spur castles. It was built by Pagan le Bouteiller, lord of Montréal and Oultrejordain, in 1142, over the ruins of an earlier Roman fortress. Obtained through marriage by Reynald of Châtillon, Kerak withstood Ayyubid sieges in 1183 and 1184, but after the battle of Hattin and the death of Reynald in 1187, the castle eventually fell to Saladin's brother, al-Malik al-Adil in November 1188. He refortified Kerak in 1192 and it was strengthened again by Baybars in 1264. Situated on a spur on the southern side of the town of Kerak, it is cut off from the town by a broad rock-cut ditch. The entrance of the castle was in the north.

Another early spur castle is Saone. Situated on one of the lesser routes from Latakia to Aleppo, Saone was, in the words of Lawrence 'probably the finest example of military architecture in Syria'. The Franks built their castle around an existing tenth-century Byzantine fortress. Saone fell to Saladin in 1188 and was never regained by the Franks. The walls were partially repaired, and it survived remarkably well until the nineteenth century, when Ibrahim Pasha bombarded it during his campaign in Syria.

The spur approaching the castle extended from the east. The Franks excavated in the rock of the spur a moat 128 metres long, 18 metres wide, and a remarkable 26 metres deep. Too broad to be crossed by a single span bridge, a tall stone pinnacle was left during excavation to support a bridge and a drawbridge. A gatehouse was built to the west of the moat with two slightly projecting rounded towers. To the south of the gate is the great keep, the biggest in the Latin East. On the defences to the east are three

11. Kerak Castle.

round towers and to the south are three rectangular towers. The Franks also built a large, vaulted hall. Construction of many of the Frankish buildings was of large, rusticated ashlars, roughly bossed in typical twelfth-century fashion, some with masons' marks.

Not a typical spur castle, the Templar fortress of Beaufort occupies a mountain ridge overlooking the Litani river in Southern Lebanon. It was strategically placed to command the southern approaches to the Beqaʾ Valley. Another castle the origins of which probably lay with King Fulk, who occupied the region in 1139, it began as a 12 metres square keep that, under its various owners, was greatly expanded. After falling to Saladin in 1190, Beaufort was only restored to the Franks following the treaty of 1240. The Templars, who purchased the castle in 1260, added to its extensive fortifications in the brief period before it fell to Baybars in 1268. The castle, as it evolved, took advantage of the steep topography but differed from the classical spur castle in that rather than being surrounded by steep declines on all sides but the one facing the spur, it had a steep decline only on the east side, a more gradual slope to the west, and was almost level with the continuations of the ridge to the north and south. As this left all sides but the east comparatively vulnerable, the Templar fortress had moats on three sides rather than just one.

Templar Château Pèlerin is another great fortress that followed the principles of the spur castle design, although it was not built on a mountain spur but on a comparatively level site, a small peninsula extending out into the Mediterranean. When it was

constructed by the Templars between 1217 and 1218, they dismantled a small twelfth-century tower known as Le Destroit (Districtum, Petra Incisa) that they possessed on the sandstone ridge that runs parallel to the coast south of Haifa. Château Pèlerin was one of the largest and most impressive castles of the kingdom of Jerusalem. It withstood a raid by the Ayyubid, al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa in 1220 and in the following years a town grew up adjacent to its eastern side. The town fell to Baybars in 1265 and was destroyed. The castle, however, held out until August 1291, and was the last site abandoned by the Franks after the fall of Acre. Between 1931 and 1936 Cedric N. Johns excavated parts of the castle and the town, and a new project is now underway exposing and preserving sections of the castle.

The similarity of this fortress with spur castles, in spite of its location, lies in that it too is defended by nature on three sides, in this case by the sea rather than by the steep slopes of river valleys. The one exposed side, in this case, the east, was defended, as with the spur castles, by massive defences and a broad moat that was excavated along the entire length of the eastern fortifications. The defences consisted of two huge, fortified walls with projecting towers. The inner wall was 10–12 metres wide and over 30 metres high, with two towers, the northern tower surviving today to a height of 34 metres. To its east the outer wall was an estimated 200 metres long, 6.5 metres thick, and 16 metres high, with three towers. The latter had two levels of firing positions: one, a passageway 3 metres above the ground leading to casemates with embrasures, each of which could hold four archers; the other being a parapet at the top of the wall. The towers of the outer wall had gates that gave indirect access to the outer bailey between the two walls. They were so positioned that archers on the inner, eastern line of defence could fire their arrows between the towers and over the outer wall and moat. The moat was 27 metres wide. It had two gates giving access from the adjacent faubourg. Around the remaining sides of the castle were vaulted halls, and in the interior among the buildings were a polygonal church and a rib-vaulted hall that may have served as the refectory.

Crac des Chevaliers is regarded as the finest of the Hospitaller castles, perhaps even the finest of all the crusader fortresses. So impressive in appearance, so technologically advanced, and so well preserved, it led such an enthusiast as Lawrence to refer to it with no exaggeration as 'perhaps the best preserved and most wholly admirable castle in the world'. Overlooking the Homs Gap, a weak point in the defences of the Frankish states, Crac des Chevaliers defended the north-eastern flank of the county of Tripoli and controlled access to the Orontes and the Syrian interior. The original fortress on the site, Hosn al-Akrad (Castle of the Kurds), was captured by the Franks in 1110 and acquired by the Hospitallers in 1142. Severely damaged by earthquakes in 1157, 1170, and again in 1202, it was greatly expanded by the order in the thirteenth century. Occupying the northern end of a spur, its inner bailey consisted of barrel-vaulted halls enclosing a courtyard, with a large hall, stables, a chapel to the north-east, and a gate in the centre of the eastern wall. With the thirteenth-century expansion, an outer wall with semi-circular towers was added, and a complex gate system with a winding passage on the east. The inner wall was strengthened on the south and west sides

with an extremely high glacis and three huge towers on the south. Between the two walls on the south was a reservoir and beyond the outer wall was a dry ditch. Its great strength enabled Crac to survive Saladin's conquests in 1188 and it only fell to Baybars in 1271 after a month-long siege. Preserved rather than dismantled by the Mamluks it remains the most intact of crusader fortresses in the Levant, indeed, of all medieval fortresses.

Nearly as remarkable as Crac was another Hospitaller fortress, Margat, located in the south of the principality of Antioch, south of Latakia. Situated on a hilltop above the coastal road, on a sort of plateau, most of which is occupied by the fortified faubourg, the fortress itself occupies a spur extending to the south. Constructed using the local basalt stone, Margat is among the finest examples of Frankish military architecture. Lawrence described the features of Margat as 'typical of the best period of French architecture' and its round keep, the finest of its type in the Latin East. Entrance to the castle is via a bent-angle fortified gateway north of the castle on the western wall of the faubourg. Barrel-vaulted chambers surround the courtyard, including a large round keep on the south, a chapel, hall, refectory, bathhouse, and other rooms and installations.

Hospitaller Belmont is an example of the type of castle that does not fit ideally into the abovementioned categories. This is due, no doubt, to it having evolved from a quite different structure in its original state. Its location, however, on a prominent hilltop overlooking the Jaffa-Jerusalem road allows it in its developed stage to be placed under the label of 'hilltop castle'. It is not known when Belmont was built, but it was perhaps first constructed around 1140 as a regional estate centre, a courtyard building remarkably similar in layout to Hospitaller Aqua Bella that lies in the valley just to the north. When it is first recorded in 1169/70, it had come into Hospitaller hands, under whom it was expanded and strengthened by an outer construction of vaults and defences around the original rectangular courtyard building, forming a polygonal enceinte with a fortified gate to the south-east. It now enclosed an area of 100 by 115 metres. After the fall of the region to the Ayyubid army in 1187, Saladin destroyed Belmont in 1191.

The Teutonic fortress of Judin is situated in Western Galilee 16 kilometres north-east of Acre. It has never been excavated, but was the study of a survey conducted by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem between 1990 and 1992. After the crusader period it was in Mamluk hands and was dismantled by Baybars. It was reoccupied and expanded to serve as a palace of the Bedouin regional ruler Dahr al-Omar in the late eighteenth century.

The Frankish castle consisted of two three-storey towers about 20 metres apart, enclosed within a curtain wall. The eastern tower, probably the earlier of the two, was more massively constructed, measuring 16 by 15.5 metres and stood about 12.5 metres high. Its walls were 3.3 to 5.4 metres thick. Its entrance on the west access was via a narrow passage built into the thickness of the wall. The tower contained latrines and served as a domestic structure. The second tower measured 16.4 metres square with walls between 1.6 and 3.25 metres in thickness.

An excellent example of a hilltop castle is Montréal (ash-Shaubak). It was built by Baldwin I in 1115 on an isolated hill in Southern Transjordan. The aim of this fortress was to guard the caravan route from Damascus to Egypt and the Hijaz. William of Tyre described it as fortified with walls, towers, forewalls, and a moat, and well equipped with arms and machines. It had a remarkable water system with cisterns fed by a subterranean spring and reached via a staircase tunnel with 365 steps. Montréal fell to Saladin in 1189 after a protracted siege, and was later restored by the Mamluks, who added a palace.

Saphet was one of the largest fortresses in the kingdom of Jerusalem. The original castle on the hilltop overlooking Eastern Galilee was possibly built as early as 1102 by Hugh of St Omer. It was refortified in the 1140s, perhaps by King Fulk, and came into Templar hands in 1168, after which it was expanded greatly. In 1188, following the battle of Hattin and the loss of much of Galilee, Saphet fell to the Ayyubids and in 1219 was dismantled by al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa. The Templars recovered it following the treaty of 1240 and in 1240–3 they carried out extensive rebuilding and expansion. The inner wall, according to a detailed contemporary source, *De constructione castri Saphet*, was a remarkable 44 metres high and had seven towers that rose an additional 4 metres.

12. Safed.

The outer wall beyond a dry ditch, was 22 metres high and also had towers. In 1266 Saphet fell to Baybars after a sixteen-day siege. He subsequently repaired and enhanced the fortifications and may have constructed its large cylindrical keep.

D: Concentric Fortifications or 'Concentric Castles'

One important progression in the early stage of castle building was the combination of two castle types to create an early form of concentric fortifications. This first appears with the enclosing of towers with enclosure castles. Among the finest examples, certainly the one to have survived most intact, is the fortress of the small town of Gibelet (Jubayl, Byblos), north of Beirut. Gibelet consists of a quadriburgium measuring *c.*45 by 40 metres enclosing a two-storey keep measuring 22 by 18 metres which had walls of 4 metres thickness. This design, combining in a highly functional manner two distinct types of fortresses, may be regarded as a considerable leap forward in castle design. If indeed, as had been suggested, it was built fairly soon after the town was captured by Raymond of St Gilles in 1102, Gibelet demonstrates not only the early adoption of the quadriburgium design, but also of concentric fortification. However, the dating of these castles remains largely speculative, and the real achievements in the application of the quadriburgium design and of concentric defences came later, in the early 1170s, with the construction of the finest enclosure castle of all—Hospitaller Belvoir. In any case, the use of the concentric defensive system, which certainly evolved out of an acquaintance with concentric urban fortifications, was to be found in Frankish castles in the first half of the twelfth century and became increasingly standard throughout the period of Frankish rule.

The term 'concentric castle', used to denote a castle with two or more defensive walls, has enjoyed a great deal of popularity among scholars of crusader castles. In reality, as a typological term it is fairly useless, as it can easily be applied to castles of very different sizes, function, and defensive capabilities, from the tiny tower and outworks of Blanchegarde or Maldoim to the huge and complex fortresses of Crac and Saphet. For that reason, rather than adding nothing to our understanding of the castle by lumping vastly different castles under a single label as if it were a 'type', it would make more sense to use the term 'concentric defences' when referring to the broad range of castle types with two lines of defences.

Conclusion

Since the earliest serious studies of crusader fortifications such as those by the French scholar, Emmanuel G. Rey, numerous analyses have been published on this topic. Interpretations based on contemporary written sources and archaeological research have expanded our understanding of what was certainly one of the more original and substantial architectural contributions of the Frankish settlers in the Levant. Archaeological research, the chief source today in providing new evidence, is at a peak, with

major projects carried out in recent years at such important sites at Saphet, Caesarea, Margat, Crac des Chevaliers, Belvoir, Toron, Montfort, Arsuf, and Château Pèlerin, as well as at many smaller but nonetheless enlightening sites like Bessan, Castellum Regis, Ibelin, and Bethgibelin. With several major monographs and scientific papers, and the increasing availability of critical editions and translations of primary sources, the future of castle and fortification studies in general is bright.

CHAPTER 6

Art and Church Architecture

LUCY-ANNE HUNT

This chapter discusses twelve selected works of art and ecclesiastical monuments in, from, or related to the Holy Land and Cyprus during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These are considered in the context of the taking of Jerusalem in 1099, the establishment of the Latin kingdom and the consolidation and legitimization of Latin rule through the establishment of major institutions of the monarchy, the Catholic Church, and the military orders. The focus is on the themes of rebuilding Christian Jerusalem, the defence of the kingdom, the safeguarding of the Church, and the aftermath in Cyprus of the fall of the first Latin kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291. The overarching question is, what distinguishes art and architecture during the period of the crusades?

A short description of a selected individual monument or work of art is given which aims to take account of recent priorities and advances in its study. Art and architecture can be viewed as an integral part of the evidence for human experience, together with archives, historical records, and pilgrimage accounts, demonstrating creativity alongside the experiences and consequences of conquest, through memory and the expression of identity. The importance of spirituality and religiosity is significant as well as ambition, expansionism, the reaching for power, and trading opportunities. A priority is to view a monument or work of art as part of a process of negotiation between crusader society and others it encountered, especially indigenous eastern Christian, and Muslim and Jewish communities.

The starting point here is with Christian spirituality and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the prime monument of Christian Jerusalem, as the major shrine of Christ's crucifixion, burial, and resurrection. The church was the symbol of the conquest of Jerusalem and remains the goal of pilgrimage and the focus for the liturgy of Easter. It is juxtaposed here with the Dome of the Rock, converted into a church under Latin rule. Both monuments were highly significant for Latin kingship. Art is also seen as integral to queenship and monarchy (Melisende Psalter) as well as with clergy, worshippers, pilgrims, and the encounter with Others—Jews, Muslims, and 'pagans' (Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem). Sensory experience through reliquaries, as well as the power, presence, and political and diplomatic dimension of the veneration of the True Cross,

is examined through the Jerusalem Cross and the so-called Stavelot Triptych. The decoration of the church at Abu Ghosh gives an insight into the preoccupations of the Hospitaller Order. The spread of literary and visual culture among lay readers in Acre and elsewhere is touched on through manuscript production (*l'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*). Finally, Byzantine-Latin artistic intermixing through an icon of St Nicholas and the transfer and production of Gothic architectural style in Cyprus after the fall of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291 is considered (Former Cathedral of St Nicholas in Famagusta).

This selection demonstrates the richness and diversity of art and ecclesiastical architecture produced in response to crusading ideals and spiritualty on the one hand and to the physical sense of place of the Holy Land itself and its sacred shrines connected with the life and death of Christ on the other. Hybrid features arise from the multiplicity of cultural contacts.

The goal of the First Crusade was the recapture of Jerusalem, and specifically the retaking of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which houses the tomb of Christ. The south façade is the entry still used by visitors today. The church has always had enormous religious and symbolic importance worldwide and has, with the other shrines commemorating events in the life of Christ's life and death, been continuously visited by pilgrims and tourists. It was founded by Constantine, the first Christian emperor, in the fourth century, when the complex was constructed in separate units. The large dome or rotunda, which enclosed the small chapel or aedicule of the tomb of Christ, was

1. South façade, Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.

separate from the basilica where the sites of Christ's passion were commemorated. Jerusalem fell under Islamic rule in the seventh century, but the Holy Sepulchre remained protected as the prime holy Christian site.

In 1009 the Constantinian basilica was destroyed. This act was regarded as an aberration on the part of the insane Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim and was not condoned by Muslim leaders. The Byzantine emperor stepped in as patron in the reconstruction and redecoration for, as head of the Byzantine Church, his responsibilities included oversight of the Orthodox Christians in Palestine known as the Melkite community, after the Syriac word for 'king', with its imperial overtones. At this time the church was reconstructed as an integrated whole with the tomb of Christ and Golgotha, as it was then known, and the site of the crucifixion, united in a single complex. The circular structure of the rotunda was retained with its wooden conical open roof and groin-vaulted galleries. Christ's tomb within it was rebuilt as a masonry copy of the original. The apse on its eastern side was decorated with the scene in mosaic work of Christ's descent into Hell to retrieve his ancestors. Beyond the atrium to the east were chapels commemorating the main events associated with Christ's passion. Other chapels were added on the south side of the courtyard.

It was the introduction of the priory at the Holy Sepulchre affiliated to the Augustinian Order in 1114 that was the likely stimulus for further building work and refurbishment under Latin rule. This was partially completed by the time of the consecration of the choir in 1149, although the work would have continued until the 1160s. Several of the features of the eleventh-century work were retained. But others were amplified and the process of integrating the various sites concerned with Christ's death and resurrection was continued. Furthermore, the whole complex was rendered suitable to accommodate not only the canons affiliated to the Augustinian Order but also large numbers of worshippers and visitors. The major change was the opening up of the area to the east of the rotunda into the canons' choir at the heart of which is the point (the *compass*) of the centre of the Christian world. In the twelfth century this was marked with a small aedicule with mosaic work. A pilgrim account of the beginning of the twelfth century refers to the centre of the world as the place of salvation. Citing a psalm, one writer states that 'the Lord our king has before the ages worked salvation in the centre of the earth'. The centre of the earth was also believed to be the location of Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalene, a devoted female follower. It stands between the tomb of Christ in the middle of the rotunda and the high altar to the east. Pilgrim accounts describe the tomb itself as being like a small cave sheathed in marble with a shelf on which Christ's body was laid, the whole enclosed in marble with holes to allow pilgrims to view into the tomb which was embellished with gold and precious stones.

Other twelfth-century changes included the addition of transepts which, together with the ambulatory at the east end, allow worshippers entering from the courtyard on the south side to process around the whole central area incorporating the rotunda and eastwards around the choir. High rib vaults were added to the choir and transepts by the 1160s. The mosaic of Christ's descent into Hell was dismantled and moved to

decorate the new apse. The chapels commemorating Christ's passion were relocated to radiating chapels around the ambulatory. From the east end the lower level chapel of Helena, empress and mother of Constantine, was accessed and, further, the staircase down to the subterranean former cistern where Helena found the True Cross was consolidated. The True Cross itself was kept in the dedicated Chapel of the Cross to the north of the canons' choir.

Returning now to the south of the choir, the visitor can ascend a staircase to the chapel of Calvary, commemorating the site of the crucifixion as Golgotha (the Place of the Skull). A second staircase gave direct access to the chapel's vestibule from the courtyard in the twelfth century. This chapel was formerly decorated with twelfth-century mosaic work, of which a section of the scene of Christ's ascension is still visible today. Below this chapel is the Chapel of Adam, the place where the skull of Adam, our common human ancestor, is believed to be buried. Formerly the tombs of the Latin kings of Jerusalem were located here, cited close to the tomb of Adam. Known from preserved fragments and drawings made in the eighteenth century, the kings' tombs were elaborately carved in marble in floral, partially figural, motifs, and ornamental designs inscribed with the name of the respective king.

Under Latin rule from the conquest of 15 July 1099, the indigenous clergy at the Holy Sepulchre, of which the Greek Orthodox Melkites were predominant, became subjected to the new Latin clergy under the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem. The Latin patriarchal apartments were on the north side of the complex, with the patriarch's

2. Aerial view from the south-east, Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.

chapel and palace on the west side next to the rotunda. An accommodation was reached with the indigenous clergy in 1101, when, following their expulsion, the holy fire, the spontaneous ignition of light at the tomb of Christ at Easter, failed to light. Once the Greek clergy were reinstated, this became an important public event for the king of Jerusalem. Indeed Baldwin I had his own private raised area before the tomb, in the southern part of the choir near to the apse. Other Christian communities had chapels of their own or space to hold services at particular altars at particular times. The Armenian and Syrian clergy had chapels in the courtyard on the south side until after 1187. Their churches had rejected the rulings of the early Church council of Chalcedon in 451 and upheld their own definition of the indivisible bodily and spiritual nature of Christ. Also on the south side is the bell tower, over the last chapel (dedicated to St John the Evangelist) to the left before the south entrance, originally built in the 1170–80s and today reduced in height.

Finally, the decoration of the south entrance, completed by the time of the consecration of 1149, remains to be mentioned. The use of paired arches in both registers is reminiscent of Roman triumphal arches and indeed sections of Roman second-century sculpture are incorporated into the cornice at the top of the façade and that dividing the two registers. The double-arch design also reflects that of the Golden Gate on the east side of the temple esplanade through which Christ passed as he entered Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. Under Latin occupation the Golden Gate was opened two days a year, on Palm Sunday and on the feast of the exaltation of the cross on 14 September. The design became associated with Christ's future second coming and no doubt worshippers and pilgrims would have been reminded of their own mortality approaching the portals of the Holy Sepulchre. The right portal was later blocked, probably by Saladin after 1187.

The sculpted lintels are the only preserved elements of the doorways' original figural decoration. They were removed in the late 1920s and can be seen at the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. The former western lintel depicts biblical scenes representing the sites on the Palm Sunday route which replicated that taken by Christ, starting at Bethany and walking to Jerusalem, ending at the Dome of the Rock. During this procession, the patriarch carried the True Cross. The former eastern lintel depicts a series of scrolls with naked figures and composite creatures quite possibly offering an image of the dawn of creation in Psalm 74. The tympana above depicted, respectively, the Virgin and Child in mosaic work, and Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene. It therefore ties in with the theme of salvation within the church itself. While the façade decoration is frequently described as eclectic it can instead be viewed as a creative fusion which reflects the diverse Christian constituencies served by the church.

The Muslim shrine of the Dome of the Rock, Qubbat al-Sakhra, was constructed as a domed octagon in shape with a double ambulatory and four gates by the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik in 691–2 CE as the centrepiece of the Haram al-Sharif ('The Noble Sanctuary'), the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. It was built on the site of the former Jewish temple which was destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE. The Dome of the Rock is

3. Templum Domini (Dome of the Rock) and Chapel of St James the Lesser (Dome of the Chain), Jerusalem.

believed to be the location from which the Prophet Muhammad ascended into heaven (al-Mi'raj) This follows his night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem (*al-Isra'*) to al-Aqsa Mosque ('the farthest mosque') on the south side of the esplanade. Currently closed to non-Muslims, as is also the Dome of the Rock, al-Aqsa serves as a place of prayer and Islamic pilgrimage as the third holy place after Mecca and Medina. Shared between Judaism and Christianity is the veneration of the rock as the place where Abraham prepared to sacrifice his son Isaac. Muslims locate this event at Mecca.

While marble cladding occupies the lower part of the outer walls of the Dome of the Rock the upper part was originally decorated with polychromed gold mosaic above, topped by the gilded dome itself. It was only in the sixteenth century that the mosaic was replaced with blue and green tiles. Those currently in place are copies of the Ottoman ones. The interior too has marble cladding with its seventh-century mosaic work. The mosaic, with green as the dominant colour against a gold ground, depicts plants, vessels, and jewelled motifs with Qur'anic and other inscriptions. These, including Qur'an 4:171 denouncing the Trinity, stayed in place during the period of the Latin kingdom.

Under Latin rule the dome was converted into a church known as the Temple of the Lord (Templum Domini), part of an abbey in the hands of Augustinian canons. Its associated Augustinian monastery was built on the north side of the esplanade. The first prior, Achard of Arrouaise, wrote a poem in praise of the building in which he

sought royal support in refurbishing and further decorating it. He aimed to obliterate all Islamic memory by claiming that it was founded by a Byzantine emperor, either Justinian or Heraclius, or by Helena, mother of Constantine. This was repeated by later writers who added another alternative, that the founder may have been a Muslim, proposing an emir in Memphis in Egypt. Achard's efforts to further Christianize the building came to fruition in 1141 when it was officially dedicated as a church by the papal legate, Alberic of Ostia.

Fulcher of Chartres, writing in the early 1120s, describes the covering over of the rock with marble. This was to protect the rock from vandalism as much as for convenience of worship. An altar was added, with the canons' choir. The iron grille that stood surrounding the rock would have been added at this time, even though it is not documented before the mid-century. The interior of the building was painted with biblical imagery, including the scene of Christ's presentation in the temple, and Latin inscriptions. These are thought to have mostly been erected in the early 1140s although work had started on the building earlier and progressed throughout the period of Latin occupation. An altar erected at the entrance to the choir was dedicated to St Nicholas. All of these additions were removed after Saladin's conquest of the city in 1187.

Peter the Deacon, writing in 1137, refers to the presence of the tabernacle which housed the Ark of the Covenant before it was taken to Rome in 70 CE. The footprint on the south-west side was believed to be that of Christ at the time of Christ's presentation in the temple. This was, of course, a denial of Mohammad's footprint at the site. John of Würzburg, writing in 1165, described the presentation of the Virgin in the temple. Theoderich, who visited the Holy Land in 1172, added that the temple and its altar were dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Reference was made to the prophet Zechariah who was murdered near the temple. An image of Christ together with the phrase 'I release from their offences those people who confess with their heart' was added to the lintel of the doorway to the small crypt believed to be where Christ freed the adulteress (John 8: 2–11).

A golden cross surmounted the by then leaded dome. This offended Muslims, several of whom would have been willing to pay to have it taken down. Inside the porch at the west gate was an image of Christ inscribed with the phrase 'this my house shall be called a house of prayer'. To the east of the Dome of the Rock the smaller Dome of the Chain was converted into a dependent chapel dedicated to St James the Less.

The Latin clergy of the Templum Domini and the Holy Sepulchre often collaborated in liturgical ceremonies including the Palm Sunday ritual and the coronation ritual of the Latin kings. Baldwin I's seal commemorating his coronation in Bethlehem in 1100 depicts the exterior of the Templum Domini. This demonstrates the significance of the building from the outset of the Latin kingdom.

Al-Aqsa Mosque, to the south of the Dome of the Rock, was renamed the Temple of Solomon (Templum Solomonis) under Latin rule and was at first used as a royal place. Later it housed the headquarters of the Order of the Knights Templar following that order's foundation in 1119.

The manuscript known as the Queen Melisende Psalter is one of the most lavish manuscripts to have been made under crusader rule. It contains, in Latin, the book of Psalms, calendar, and prayers to particular saints and for particular purposes. It can be dated between 1131–43 on internal grounds. The calendar records the conquest of Jerusalem on 15 July and commemorates the deaths of Melisende's parents Baldwin II and Morphia, but as it does not mention King Fulk's death he must have been still alive at the time. The fact that the prayers indicate a high-ranking lay woman points to Melisende herself.

4. Upper cover, ivory. Psalter of Queen Melisende.

Physically the psalter, measuring 21.6 x 14 centimetres, can be held comfortably in the hands. It was originally covered with elaborately carved ivory covers, once gilded and painted, which are now, with the silk binding, detached from the manuscript but also kept in the British Library. Each section of the book is illustrated in a different style pointing to the work of several artists and the merging of eastern and western artistic ideas. The book opens with a series of twenty-four full-page illustrations of the life of Christ followed by roundels with zodiac symbols decorating the calendar. Then follows full-page decorated initials at the beginning of each of the main Psalm divisions, which can be compared with Syrian metalwork at Edessa. Finally there are headpieces with images of saints preceding the prayers.

The upper, front, ivory cover is carved with roundels containing scenes from the life of David. This equates the king of Jerusalem with the Old Testament King David, thereby signalling the expectation that the Latin kingdom was now receiving God's favour under the new covenant of David. The upper right scene shows David being anointed by Samuel at Bethlehem (I Samuel: 1–13). Small figures of the Virtues and Vices battling between the roundels, illustrating the allegorical poem the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, refer to the moral rectitude of the king. The lower, back, ivory cover depicts the acts of mercy described in Matthew 25: 31–46. These highlight the charitable work of the king. The king wears Byzantine ceremonial dress and is crowned. This hints at the role the crusader king will play as the last emperor at the second coming of Christ at the time of the end of the world when God will create a new purified Christian world. At that time the king of Jerusalem will surrender his crown to Christ at the Mount of Olives. It was believed that the first prince of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon, had first taken up this role of last emperor in waiting and so the presumption is that Fulk, and his and Melisende's sons and successors, would continue in the role.

Other elements in the psalter's illustration endorse this interpretation especially the three depictions of the Templum Domini among the scenes of Christ's life at the beginning of the manuscript. These—the presentation in the temple, the entry into Jerusalem, and the second temptation of Christ—clearly show the bulbous dome and upper windows. Arguably the psalter was produced for Melisende to use at the consecration of the Templum Domini in 1141 which completed the process of Christianization of that building.

The last of the full-page illuminated scenes of the life of Christ in the manuscript depicts the *Deisis*. This scene is one of intercession with the Virgin and St John the Baptist praying to Christ on behalf of humankind. Derived from a Byzantine psalter, the image represents Melisende's Orthodox background through her maternal grandfather Gabriel of Melitene. Written on Christ's footstool is the phrase *Basili(us) me fecit* (Basilius made me) written in pale letters. The case can be made for this being the signature of an eastern Christian, specifically Syrian, deacon-artist as at Bethlehem where the name recurs.

The book of Psalms is essentially an anthology of religious hymns, or songs, used first in Jewish and later also Christian worship. It derives from the Hebrew Bible (the

Tanakh), called the 'Old Testament' by Christians. The Hebrew Bible was translated into Latin from Greek by St Jerome between 383 and 404 at his monastery in Bethlehem. He had originally undertaken the translation from Greek but later corrected the Old Testament directly from the Hebrew. (The New Testament was written in Greek and later translated into Latin.) It is important for an understanding of the crusader era that the Psalms were believed to have been written by King David. It was the royal Psalms of praise that offered messianic hope of a royal king of Israel, from the family of David, who would come as the deliverer of humankind. The representation of King David on the psalter's covers is a sign that the Latin royal family of Queen Melisende and King

5. Lower cover, ivory. Psalter of Queen Melisende.

Fulk saw themselves within this line of tradition and their messianic hope for the Latin kings as the last emperor can also be viewed in this light.

In general the psalter remained a common prayer book throughout the Middle Ages and was often used privately for prayer and meditation by lay people as well as in religious settings. In this way Queen Melisende could well have used this one in multiple public cross-cultural as well as private settings. Perhaps she used her psalter in her capacity as a member of a lay confraternity such as those known to have been active at the Holy Sepulchre and that connected to the Church of the Virgin in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. She could have used it in her capacity as a *consoror*, a member of a female confraternity, at the Templum Domini, the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, the Holy Sepulchre, and elsewhere. The Melisende Psalter is invariably assumed to have been made at the Holy Sepulchre but it is perfectly possible that it was made at Bethlehem given the eastern Christian linkage, coordinated by a consorority with connections to both the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Virgin at Jehoshaphat. Bethlehem and its Latin bishop were anyway subordinate to the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem at the Holy Sepulchre. The psalter could have been used by Melisende in discharging her public role as queen and in signalling the mutual support between her, the Catholic Church, and different communities. It can be seen to epitomize the personal and political role of the queen—her personal prayer and public, political,

6. *Deisis.* Psalter of Queen Melisende.

persona and her service, with her husband King Fulk and family, in alliance with the Church and the military orders.

The Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem is venerated worldwide as the shrine church built over the site Christians believe to be the birthplace of Jesus Christ. Its history, with its wall painting and mosaic decoration, can be interpreted to suggest how the church was revered, used, and chosen as the public face of the Latin monarchy and Church's internal societal, global, and missionary agenda between *c.*1130 and *c.*1170.

Founded as a basilica by Emperor Constantine and his mother Empress Helena in the fourth century, the trefoil-shaped transept area at the east end of the building was remodelled by Emperor Justinian in the sixth. The resulting plan forms a cross. It is known that from the seventh century the church was dedicated to Christ's mother the Virgin Mary. The building is therefore freighted with both imperial and family history, human and divine. The church was the location for the staging of the symbolic, religious, and political declaration of Latin rulership of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem by the family of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem with the anointment and coronation here of both her uncle Baldwin I and father Baldwin II. She retained her interest in and matronage at the site from the time of her gifting jointly with her father. Such patronage was continued by her sons Baldwin III and Amalric.

Entry into the church is through the low door on the west side which leads through the narthex and into the main church. From here the sweep of the columns of the nave of the basilica directs us to the main apse at the east end. These columns are decorated at ground level with portraits of saints painted throughout this period according to the instructions of worshippers of many nationalities. Having reached the east end of the church worshippers were directed down the stairs on the south side of the apse to the shrine of the nativity in the cave below. Mingling with the pilgrims and tourists today, visitors experience the aura of sanctity of the site of Christ's birth, marked with a mosaic of the nativity. They continue underground until they emerge back up into the church at ground level on the north side.

Remodelled in the twelfth century, this dual access to the crypt is a response to liturgical practice and the issue of managing the sheer numbers of worshippers. The shepherding around the church of people in their denominational, social, and national groups today gives us a clue as to how this major shrine would have been administered in the twelfth century with Latin, or indigenous Greek and Syrian deacons operating under the administration of the Latin bishop, guiding worshippers or those undergoing baptism. The church would have been busy with the multiple processes of everyday worship, processions at the time of feasts, especially Christmas itself, Easter, with baptisms taking place on the night of Easter Saturday, and also, arguably, the celebration of the exaltation of the cross on 14 September.

One of the column paintings in the nave showing the affectionate type of Virgin and Child image, known as the *Glykophilousa* in Byzantine art, is dated through its Latin inscription to 1130. Below, three worshippers, two female and one male, kneel in prayer. These people probably belonged to a confraternity which included both

7. The incredulity of Thomas. Wall mosaic. North transept, Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem.

Latin and Melkite members together with those baptised from other religions including Islam and Judaism. Painting in the chapel in the narthex below the bell tower can be attributed to the reign of Queen Melisende and King Fulk and is probably contemporary with Melisende's psalter. Here, in the apse on the east wall, is the last judgement wall painting image of the throne prepared for Christ's second coming with the wooden patriarchal cross rising from it and a large book, probably the Bible with both the Old and New Testaments, placed on it. The prevalent belief among Christians was that the Jews would convert at the time of the second coming. Below the prepared throne (known as the *etoimasia*) is the *Deisis* scene which shows the Virgin and John the Baptist offering prayers to Christ enthroned in the centre. At ground level are Church fathers, including the fourth-century St Basil, bishop of Caesarea, who preached the Christian faith and insisted on the unity of the Church through the core doctrine of the Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as one indivisible Godhead. This doctrine was adopted by the Council of Nicaea in 325 and was supported by St Augustine.

On the east wall of the narthex chapel is the wall painting of the Holy Family: the Virgin and Child and St Joseph, with the addition of a prophet. The Virgin here represents the Jewess in the Temple, anticipating the conversion of the Jews to Christianity at the second coming. Scenes depicting the finding of the True Cross by Empress Helena probably originally once existed in the chapel. The relic of a nail from the cross was in the possession of the church in the twelfth century. Melisende could

present herself as the heiress to Empress Helena. Furthermore, she and her family could claim to be the human representatives of the Holy Family here at the site of the fulfilment of prophecy of the birth of the Messiah. This justified the earthly rule of the Holy Land in the hands of her dynasty under the new covenant. Through the power of the cross the process of the unification of Jews and Gentiles will be completed at the end of time. The aim in the meantime was universal Christianity in this world under Latin leadership.

The high point of the church's decoration is the programme of mosaic work in the apse, nave, and transepts. The date of 1169 is given in the inscription in the apse of the church documenting, in Latin and Greek, its completion. While only a fragment of this inscription survives today it gave precise information about the programme's planning and execution. It was erected during the reign of Amalric, Melisende and Fulk's second son, with the financial support from the Byzantine emperor, Manuel I Komnenos, during the time of Bishop Ralph of Bethlehem. The portraits of these people were probably visible in the apse. The Greek Orthodox monk Ephrem was in charge of the mosaic work. Other inscriptions in the church include a bilingual Latin and Syriac one naming Basilius, deacon and artist, at the foot of one of the processing angels on the north nave wall. From the Syriac it can be inferred that he was both one of the mosaicists and a member of the indigenous clergy at the church, representing the Syrian Melkite community. Probably hailing from a monastery near Antioch, his designation as 'Basilius' probably indicates his status as one who used St Basil's version of the central prayer in the liturgy. This prayer, which we know was translated into several languages, supported the common authority of the Trinity agreed on at the Council of Nicaea. The inclusion of the Latin inscription, with which it is paired, shows that he was working under the authority of the Latin bishop, himself representing the Latin patriarch, appointed by the pope in Rome.

Several sections of the mosaic work are preserved and other scenes can be reconstructed from a seventeenth-century Franciscan description and other texts. The programme explained the incarnation of Christ, starting with the annunciation to the Virgin by an angel telling her that she would become the mother of Christ, fulfilled in the nativity scene in the cave. The Virgin and Child in the apse were flanked by Abraham and David. The human nature of Christ was emphasized by the presence of genealogies of Christ in the form of portraits of his ancestors running along the nave arcades below Church councils endorsing Orthodox Christianity. Some of these are still preserved. At the top of the nave wall was believed to be the history of the world from the creation to the last judgement. The tree of Jesse developed the theme of Christ's kingly Old Testament ancestry. Here prophecies heralding Christ's status as the Messiah. Two non-Jewish prophets are included, Balaam and the Sibyl, the latter deriving from the liturgical ritual of the Holy Sepulchre. These are Gentiles. The programme is concerned, then, with the merger of Jews and Gentiles under Christ and the earthly rule of the dynasty of the family of Queen Melisende.

At the east end of the church and in the transepts were scenes of Christ's life and death. Remarkable among these is the mosaic of Doubting Thomas in the north

transept. What is immediately striking is the brightness of the colours of the draperies, shot through with gold and silver striation, the animated nature of the figures, and the strong geometric ornament at the base of the scene. The brightness and dramatic intensity of the mosaic work have been enhanced by the cleaning and conservation work undergone in the church in recent years.

The scene depicted is a visual enactment of that described in John 20: 24–9. Here Christ, the figure dominating the centre of the scene, has appeared, resurrected, to his disciples for the second time since he died by crucifixion on the cross at Golgotha. The Apostle Thomas had not been present at Christ's first appearance and on being told of it by the other disciples demanded proof that Christ was indeed resurrected: 'Unless I see the nail marks in his hands and put my finger where the nails were, and put my hand into his side, I will not believe it' (John 20: 25). Astonishingly, Christ complies and pulls Thomas' hand to his side. The scene stands to reassure others—especially those actually present at the church in the twelfth century awaiting baptism—who may doubt the reality of Christ's human nature and to persuade them to accept the veracity of the Christian faith, expressed here through tangible proof. It also forces an engagement with the physicality of Christ's relics, a tenet of medieval religion in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

Research undertaken in the latter part of the twentieth century saw Jerusalem identified as the place of manufacture of a series of cross reliquaries. These were taken to the medieval west in the twelfth century and show how important the True Cross was for worship, commemoration, and gift-giving diplomacy. One of these is quite a small object (15.9 × 9.2 centimetres) made of silver gilt and wood. It is made up of two elements: the actual relics at the heart of the reliquary and its casing, added to it once it arrived in the west. When closed it presents itself as an oblong box in the form of a Byzantine reliquary known as a *staurotheke* with a sliding lid. Italian-style features suggest that this casing was made in Italy, perhaps Sicily, in the second half of the twelfth century. The lid displays an image of the crucifixion. This slides open to reveal relics of the cross inside, laid out as two small cross shapes within the large double-armed cross, dark in contrast to the surrounding gilding. The lower of the two is surrounded by four quatrefoil indentations which originally contained stones from the Holy Sepulchre. The Holy Sepulchre itself is depicted at the foot of the double-armed cross as a domed structure surmounted by a cross which is complete with hanging lamp and with a rectangle below with three holes representing the tomb of Christ.

The accuracy of the representation allowed worshippers to envisage the experience of actually being in the Holy Sepulchre itself both for those who had visited in the past as well as others who were not in a position to go. Roundels at the top, ends of the main arms, and lower shaft of the relic setting contain the four symbols of the Evangelists, the writers of the four Gospels. Other, foliage, motifs suggest a paradise setting, a glimpse of the salvation which could be attained through worship of the True Cross.

On either side below the arms of the double-armed cross stand Constantine and Helena crowned and dressed in Byzantine imperial costume. Their names are inscribed

8. Reliquary of the True Cross, from the Musée du Louvre. Paris.

in both Greek and Latin, with their presence further indicated in Latin inscriptions on the box. No indication of date, patron, or artist is given. Both imperial figures point with one hand to the cross and the other to the sepulchre below. They provide a commentary on the origin of the relics and attest their veracity. They act as human mediators between worshippers and the divine. They thereby mirror the Virgin and St John on either side of Christ on the cross on the outer lid. This gives them particular authority and their presence offers the possibility that the reliquary was displayed in a chapel of the Holy Cross during church worship at the feasts of the finding of the cross (3 May) and the exaltation of the cross (14 September) in the Latin liturgy.

This reliquary and others that were taken to the west reflected the prime importance of the cult of the True Cross in Jerusalem. The place of the True Cross in the Holy Sepulchre has been mentioned earlier. Its importance for the defence of the kingdom in the twelfth century cannot be underestimated. An example of its authority in the field of war is given in the account by William of Tyre of the siege of Ascalon in 1153 by the army of King Baldwin III. The siege was ultimately successful but not without a hiatus during which the king held a council of war. The True Cross was present to direct strategy and clarify the focus. Despite the expression of a variety of opinions the decision was taken to resume the siege, a decision given fortitude by the cross itself representing God's purpose and support in guiding the army. Writing after the event William attributed the victory to the grace and mercy of God and he commends the humility of the participants. The leaders of the army praised God 'who had deigned to bestow on his unworthy people the abundance of his gifts'. The True Cross was thought of as the Ark of the Covenant. This is evident from the descriptions by Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre of the crusaders' regaining of the Holy Land for Christendom in the same way that the Israelites had suffered adversity in returning to Jerusalem. When the cross was finally lost at the battle of Hattin in 1187 the continuator of William of Tyre attributed the tragedy to the lack of humility on the part of the crusaders, writing that the king 'had trusted more in his own power than in the virtue of Jesus Christ and the Holy Cross'.

The Stavelot Triptych is a copper gilt reliquary in three parts, measuring 48.4 centimetres in height, 66 centimetres in width and 8 centimetres in depth. When open the central panel, the largest element, displays two reset Byzantine reliquaries surrounded by scallop-shaped framing and semi-precious stones. This central panel is flanked by wings attached either side with roundels in enamel work which provide a commentary on the earlier Byzantine reliquaries. The enamel work of the wings is characteristic of Mosan workmanship of the twelfth century in the river Meuse area of present-day Belgium. The reliquary epitomizes relations between east and west during the crusades focusing on art and relics.

The Byzantine reliquaries, attributable to Constantinopolitan workmanship of the eleventh to early twelfth centuries, are composed of *cloisonnée* enamel, comprised of thin strips of metal soldered onto a base to form small cells into which the powdered enamel is placed and fused. The upper one, when closed, displays the annunciation to

9. The Stavelot Triptych.

the Virgin, with the Angel Gabriel on the outer left side approaching the standing Virgin Mary on the right. These outer small doors open together to reveal the crucifixion. Below, the larger Byzantine reliquary depicts the four evangelists in pairs on the outside doors. These open to display a wooden cross relic with angels above the cross arms and Constantine and Helena below. The latter are both crowned and each wears a nimbus behind their head identifying them both as saints. The outer, attached panels depict warrior saints as martyrs, holding crosses and Gospel books.

These eastern reliquaries were placed here to enable the western twelfth-century worshipper to contemplate the mystery of the incarnation and the unfolding salvatory power of the crucifixion. Their antiquity endorsed the authenticity of Holy Land relics of a small piece of wood, a nail from the True Cross, and a piece of white cloth from the Virgin's garment, listed on a piece of parchment, in a small bag in a cavity at the base of the upper reliquary.

These relics inspire the scenes narrated within three roundels on the wings on either side of the reliquary with scenes relating to Constantine on the left and to Helena on the right. These are made in *champlevé* enamelwork, a technique in which the surface is removed from the copper plate to create hollows which are filled with enamel.

The series starts bottom left with the vision of Constantine shown as a dream according to Rufinus' Latin translation of Eusebius' Greek *Ecclesiastical History*. This relates how Constantine saw the cross revealed to him in a dream. He awoke to find an angel at the foot of his bed proclaiming *In hoc Vince* ('In this Conquer') with this statement written out as a text held in his left hand. In the second scene Constantine defeats the pagan Maxentius, whose speared body appears at the base of the roundel. Here Constantine's standard bearer carries a triple pennant fluttering at the top of the scene with a cross. This pennant is the same as that depicted in one of the battle scenes of the so-called 'Crusader' window originally installed in one of the westernmost ambulatory chapels at the east end of the abbey church of Saint-Denis near Paris, probably erected by Abbot Odo of Deuil in 1158. While this window is destroyed it can be reconstructed from an eighteenth-century engraving, together with two preserved roundels now in the Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania. These fourteen roundels were originally arranged as pairs with glorious scenes stirring memories from the First Crusade.

Empress Helena's sequence on the right wing treats stories of the finding of the cross according to popular medieval narrative. First, lowest right, Helena interrogates the Jewish community, identified by their peaked hats, in a scene in which Judas Cyriacus was forced into revealing where the cross was buried. The fire to the right of the scene shows that intimidation of the Jews was involved. Next, Judas Cyriacus digs for the crosses of Christ and those of the two thieves. Finally, top right, the True Cross is identified through the test of the raising of a young man who had recently died, by having the cross laid on his body. The bishop who undertakes the test is the converted Judas Cyriacus, now beardless. Helena is rewarded for her efforts by being labelled as St Helena (*Sancta Elena*) and her crown has now doubled in size. The intersection of the power of the cross, personal revelation, as well as the Holy Land location of Jerusalem as the site of the meeting of the heavenly and earthly cities is revealed here. The relics tucked into the cavity of the smaller of the Byzantine reliquaries equates precisely to major Holy Land sites including the Holy Sepulchre (the Holy Cross) and the Church of the Nativity (Holy Nail).

Although far from being conclusively proved, it is currently assumed by many that the reliquary was made at the abbey of Stavelot in Belgium for Abbot Wibald. According to this interpretation the abbot could have acquired the two Byzantine reliquaries from Manuel I Komnenos in Constantinople where Wibald went on a diplomatic mission for the German emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa, returning home in 1156 and undertaking the triptych project before his death in 1158.

Despite the claim for ʿAmwas, former Nicopolis, to be the biblical site of Emmaus, Abu Ghosh, located *c.*11 kilometres west of Jerusalem, was founded with that identification in *c.*1140. As such, it represents the invention of a Frankish topography based on local traditions in the hands of the Hospitaller Order. This order was founded with the aim of caring for the sick although its mission developed—in parallel with other military orders, especially the Templars—to include participation in the military defence of the realm. Church of St Mary of the Resurrection at Abu Ghosh

10. Crucifixion. Wall painting. Nave, south wall, Abbey Church of St Mary of the Resurrection, Abu Ghosh.

was intended as a pilgrimage destination, commemorating the place on the road from Jerusalem where Christ appeared to two disciples after his resurrection, an event described in Luke 24: 13–35.

The church is built over a crypt which houses the source of a healing spring, lined in masonry. The plan of this crypt with its three apses mirrors that of the main church above, although it only fits the equivalent of the first two bays of the upper church. The main church has a nave and two side aisles, with rectangular piers and pilasters supporting rib vaulting. A particular architectural feature is the use of the elbow corbel, each one incorporating a leaved Corinthian capital, to transfer the weight of the vaulting to the nave arcade walls. It also appears on the western wall. The earliest example of this distinctive feature is at the cloister of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the early 1110s and it is found at several Holy Land sites thereafter.

The programme of painted decoration was completed in *c.*1170. It was conserved at the turn of the twenty-first century. The central apse is painted with the scene of Christ's descent into Hell with Old Testament figures on either side. It will be recalled that this is the same iconography as was in the apse mosaic of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The south apse depicts the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, each one holding groups of the souls of the saved bundled in a kerchief. The scene is completed by paradise imagery of trees and flowers. In the north apse is the *Deisis* image of intercession, with the Virgin and St John interceding with Christ, as has been noted in the Melisende Psalter.

The decoration on the nave walls is also restricted to the first two bays. On the south wall the focus is on the crucifixion, with the remnants of the military saint Theodore riding towards the apse to the east of it, flanked by a female martyr saint on either side. While the crucifixion scene is damaged, the quality of the painting is evident in the figures of Mary with St John and the holy women painted to the viewer's left of the body of Christ. Above this group is an angel presenting the half-figure of a female personification of the Church with a cloth to collect the blood of Christ. The centurion who had pierced Christ's side has been moved to the group on the right, above a large figure, probably Mary Magdalen. Also on the right side, above this group, is another angel who vigorously pushes out the personification of the synagogue. The meaning of this imagery is 'super-sessionist', that is to say the Jewish law is ejected in favour of the new law of the Church. According to Christian theology this occurred because the Jews did not accept Christ as the Messiah and God cancelled their covenant as a result. This pictorial representation has been interpreted by some as anti-Semitic. However, in the context of the Latin occupation of the Holy Land, another interpretation is that it can be viewed in the wider Christian context of salvation theology according to which the Jews will be converted at the time of Christ's second coming. Furthermore, although Synagogia's spear is broken, she looks back at Christ on the cross in a regretful rather than a resentful way as if in recognition that her banishment is temporary. While not representing religious tolerance in the modern sense this interpretation is accepting of the Old Testament. Also it does not condone the persecution that look place in the west including that in 1096 preceding the First Crusade.

It is not without significance that the site of Abu Ghosh is in the vicinity not only of the Hospitaller fortress of Belmont but also Modin, the home town of the Maccabees, the family who led the Jewish revolt against the Seleucids in 168 BCE. The crusaders identified themselves symbolically with the Maccabees and Judas Maccabeus was a legendary early benefactor of the Hospitaller Order.

On the north wall is the apocryphal scene of the death of the Virgin, with Christ holding the Virgin's soul as a swaddled baby with the Apostles above who have arrived on clouds from wherever in the world they were preaching the Gospel.

Again, to the east of it, there is a military saint, here St George, riding to the east with a standing female martyr saint depicted on either side of him. The decoration is completed with other scenes, the pier figures of St John the Baptist and Zachariah, as well as painted imitation marbling. The crypt is painted with stars. There may originally have been a painting showing the meeting of Christ with the Apostles in the crypt apse but this is conjecture.

The painted programme of the church has been compared with Byzantine painting. This does not mean, however, that artists came from Constantinople. Syrian painters with allegiance to the Byzantine church as member of the Melkite community were at work in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, as we have seen, and it is more likely that they

were on hand. This view is supported by the presence of a graffito in Arabic, the Melkite community's spoken language, at the left (north) side of the central apse which includes the names of three prophets.

Lavishly illustrated manuscripts designed primarily for secular patrons, as well as liturgical manuscripts, were illustrated in the Holy Land in the second half of the thirteenth century. While they continue the tradition of illustrated manuscripts made in the twelfth century such as the Melisende Psalter they extend the repertoire of the narrative cycle of scenes in historical and biblical texts. Several are currently associated with Acre, an attribution initially proposed because a liturgical manuscript dateable to the third quarter of the thirteenth century records in its calendar the dedication of a church there. The most prominent manuscript assumed to have been made in the city is the great Arsenal Bible comprising extracts in Old French written by a North French scribe and decorated during Louis IX's stay in the Holy Land in 1250–4, perhaps in the Dominican house there.

Such manuscripts were made in scriptoria, workshops combining scribes and artists collaborating to produce commissions. Manuscripts were produced for a variety of lay people including the aristocracy and members of the military orders. The books had several purposes including a moralizing demonstration of Old Testament figures as role models by preachers providing historical information in the dissemination of crusader ideology. They were also produced for personal enjoyment, communal reading, and courtly use.

A wide range of texts were illustrated including biblical material, psalm and prophet books, liturgical texts, romances, poetry, and works of classical antiquity including Cicero's rhetorical treatises and histories. Among historical texts is the *History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea* by William of Tyre in Latin in the late 1170s to 1184 which includes an account of the First Crusade and events up to his own time. This text was later translated into Old French sometime between 1204 and 1234 in a Continuation version known as *L'Estoire d'Eracles,* abbreviated to *Eracles*, named after Emperor Heraclius, the account of whose entry into Jerusalem with the True Cross is the opening text. The Continuation was subject thereafter to additional variants. Another example is *l'Histoire ancienene jusquà César*, a text originally written in Flanders for Count Roger de Lille in the early thirteenth century. This world chronicle is an assemblage of texts narrating the history of the world from creation to the time of Julius Caesar, in other words contemporary with the life of Christ. The Old Testament section correlates the biblical narrative with contemporary secular writings of antiquity, with the history of Troy included to allude to the Trojan origin of the Franks. This would appeal to the Frankish audience to whom it would be recited.

The wide spectrum of eastern and western elements in both text and image in these manuscripts often blurs boundaries and makes attribution difficult. One example is an *Eracles* which became the property of Isabella Bruce who left Scotland to marry Eiric II Magnusson, king of Norway, and who remained there between 1293 and her death in 1357 or 1358. One attribution of her manuscript is to Antioch between the 1260s and

11. The Creation. Frontispiece, *l'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*.

1280s on the basis of its illustration. If this is correct this highlights the role either of individual pilgrims—in her case the negotiator of her marriage—or wider networks in the portability of objects, including luxury items such as textiles as well as books. On the other hand the manuscript could have been commissioned directly from here or another centre of production. Either way Holy Land imagery was evidently popular with lay audiences in both east and west in the later thirteenth century.

The frontispiece of a *l'Histoire ancienene jusquà César* manuscript is suggested to have been made in Acre between 1285 and 1291, perhaps as a gift for the coronation of King Henry II of Cyprus as king of Jerusalem in August 1286, in Tyre. It depicts the narrative of the first book of the Old Testament, Genesis, starting with the creation of the world and ending with the Roman conquest of Jerusalem (63 BCE). It is laid out in eight medallions against a sky-blue ground divided by seraphim, the highest angelic order. Evangelist symbols occupy the four corners locating the law of the New Testament at the moment of creation itself. The use of the cruciform halo indicates the Godhead's unity of Son with Father. Top and bottom are shields which once contained coats of arms, now lost, which would have provided heraldic clues as to the identity of the patron. The painted page displays a fusion of Byzantine, western, and Islamic styles. The Godhead replicates the image of Christ Pantocrator, the ruler of all, as in the domes of Byzantine churches, while the figure style is western.

The border displays an Islamic courtly life theme adapted from secular Arabic manuscripts and scenes in ivory carving. At the top is a seated ruler flanked by musicians, including a female dancer, in a garden setting. Running animals from a hunting scene and scenes of combat occupy the rest of the border. These include hybrid creatures including the centaur—half man, half horse—which also makes an appearance in the former eastern Holy Sepulchre lintel. There are also similarities with the animals carved in the Melisende Psalter covers. The presence of such Arab-style motifs imply diplomatic and trading links with the Islamic world which acknowledge shared courtly tastes, as in palace art. Muslims are marginalized in the border here but still have the potential for salvation through baptism.

This very large panel (measuring 203 centimetres in height by 158 centimetres wide) dates to within a few years of the beginning of the rule of the Latin Lusignan kings of Cyrus (1192–1473). Removed from the Greek Orthodox Church of St Nicholas of the Roof in Kakopetria, it can be seen today in the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation in Nicosia.

The focus of the panel is the frontally standing bishop Saint Nicholas of Myra who is giving a blessing and holds a Gospel book. His title 'St Nicholas of the Roof', is inscribed in Greek against the gold ground. The authority of his office is divinely authorized. Above the trilobe arch over Nicholas' head is Christ holding the Gospels while the Virgin holds the *omorphorion*, the stole with crosses bestowed on a bishop, the equivalent in the Greek Orthodox Church of the *pallium* in the Catholic Church. Carved and gilded raised gesso work embellish the crosses of the saint's *omorphorion* and other parts of his ecclesiastical attire, his Gospel book, and his halo. Three figures kneel in

12. Icon of St. Nicholas from the Church of St. Nicholas of the Roof, Kakopetria, Cyprus (before conservation). The Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, Nicosia, Cyprus (BIAM.007). For a post-conservation photo see Further Reading, J. Durand and D. Giovannoni (eds.) *Chypre*, cat. 124 (I. Eliades).

supplication at his feet. To his right is a knight wearing chainmail, identifiable as a member of the Ravendel family, probably Mellours de Ravendel, one of the last lords of Maraclea. Maraclea, located between Tortosa and Baniyas, had been one of the largest *seigneuries* (lordships) in the former county of Tripoli before the loss of Latin Syria to the Mamluks in 1291. He wears the imperial eagle, an aspirational symbol worn by Frankish knights in conflict scenes in the thirteenth-century *Histoire d'Outremer* manuscripts. His charger, complete with horse covering, and his coat of arms, now damaged, appear behind him. To the saint's left is the knight's wife and daughter. This grouping reflects the importance of the family and kinship structures to the knightly class.

The lateral panels are occupied with scenes from St Nicholas' life, starting top left with his birth and ending bottom right with his tomb. The scenes are inscribed

in Greek, but with errors which might suggest collaboration with Latin artists. These scenes are not just taken from the Greek Orthodox tradition. From the Latin version of his life are Nicholas' donation to three poor girls and the raising of three clerics from the dead. Four panels relate to the freeing of people held prisoner. This is a theme which would have resonated with some in the local community and gives a reason for supplication of the icon by them. Salvation would also have been sought by merchants and seafarers of both denominations for whom St Nicholas was the patron saint. St Nicholas was widely revered across geographical and liturgical boundaries. His cult, which began at the site of his death, between 345 and 352 in Myra in Asia Minor, had acquired wide currency in both east and west, especially after his relics were moved to Bari in 1087. He is one of several eastern saints venerated in the west at the time of the crusades, with others, including military saints.

Stylistically the face of the saint is striking with its deep-set eyes, shadowing, and heavy eyebrows. The comparison has been drawn with the thirteenth-century paintings at the church at Moutoullas on Cyprus, dedicated to the Virgin, but also beyond, especially to wall paintings in Syria and Lebanon which might have been intended as a reminiscence of the origins of the family in Maraclea, as well as a reference to Southern Italy. An example from the latter is the wall painting of St Nicholas on the south-west pillar of the crypt of the church of Santa Lucia in Brindisi where the comparison also extends to details of the frown between the eyebrows to the shaping of the beard and the cleft of the chin. These comparisons raise the broader issue of artistic exchanges and convergences across the Mediterranean in the crusader era. In this case both Greek Orthodox and Latin communities could lay claim to the saint's cult.

It is tempting to think of a hybrid work of art such as this in a multicultural setting as a gesture towards reconciliation and assimilation with the indigenous culture. However the panel was possibly originally deliberately placed in front of the existing, twelfth-century wall painting of St Nicholas so as to obscure it. This original wall painting is located on the entrance wall to the chamber south of the apse in the church and shows a Greek Orthodox monk supplicating the saint. If so, the imposition of this new panel so soon after the Latin conquest might well have been inflammatory. It could have been viewed by the indigenous community as much as an act of assertion of control as a gesture towards assimilation.

St Nicholas eventually became a much-revered, popular saint across denominations and geographical location. Leontios Makhairas, the Greek Cypriot chronicler, records that in 1362 an icon of St Nicholas was brought from Myra to Famagusta. Veneration of images such as this endured beyond the fall of the Lusignan dynasty to the present time. When accorded special exhibitions in Rome in 2009 and Nicosia in 2017 following its conservation in Rome this panel was fêted as a symbol of international rapport.

The former Latin cathedral of St Nicholas in Famagusta, now Lala Mustafa Paşa Mosque, was founded in 1300/1 and completed around the mid-fourteenth century. It was sponsored by the Church through its local bishops, legacies, and donations arising from papal appeals granting indulgencies in 1313 and 1318. Its construction was therefore a city initiative by local townspeople rather than a royal one on the part of the

Lusignan family. It may, however, have been used, in its incomplete state, for the coronation of Hugh IV as king of Jerusalem and was certainly the site of the later coronations of Peter I in 1360 and Peter II in 1372. (The Lusignan kings were crowned kings of Cyprus in the cathedral of Nicosia.) The cathedral can be seen as part of the development of the town, concomitant with its growing economic and trading activity following the influx of refugees from the Syrian mainland from the 1260s and especially following the fall of Acre to the Mamluks in 1291. The dioceses of Famagusta and Tortosa were merged in 1295 by the pope and refugee canons from Tortosa arrived in Famagusta. While ecclesiastical establishments were founded by different communities, including Syrian, Melkite, and Armenian, as well as mendicant communities and others, St Nicholas was established as the town's parish church as well as the seat of its bishopric. The space in front of the cathedral would have served as a civic space for all communities.

What is striking about the west façade is the Gothic character of the building, with its twin towers, gabling, tracery, and central rose window representative of Rayonnant design. Architectural historians have moved away from the nineteenth-century view that Famagusta cathedral represents an example of uniquely French colonial architecture to consider a broader range of sources for the style. Some still stress a predominantly French contribution represented by the church of Saint-Urbain at Troyes in Champagne, a collegiate church (served by a college of canons), and the great cathedrals of Reims and Amiens. Others have suggested that French style was indirect, and was instead mediated by Rhineland buildings including Cologne and Strasbourg cathedrals. This latter connection is especially apparent in the use of tracery designs. Further suggested sources well beyond France include cathedrals displaying a polygonal apse, including St Stephen's cathedral in Vienna.

Continuity with the ecclesiastical architecture of the Holy Land and that of Cyprus itself has also been proposed. The cathedral's ground plan, with its tripartite division into nave and side aisles, with three apses at the east end but no transept, is paralleled in Holy Land cathedral architecture including the twelfth-century, former Latin cathedral of Beirut. The more solid character of Famagusta cathedral's interior may well reflect an indigenous Cypriot tradition. There is no triforium, the intermediate storey in the elevation of many Gothic buildings in Europe. Also the main arcade is supported on solid round piers rather than the bundled shafts often visible in Gothic architecture in the west. In this respect Famagusta follows the former Latin cathedral of St Sophia, now the Selimiye Mosque, in Nicosia, its precursor in introducing this style to Cyprus. The way that triple shafts spring directly from the plinths of these columns to form the vaulting in the nave seems almost abrupt. It is difficult to get an accurate sense of the original buttressing which sprang from the clerestory at the top of the building as the first four bays from the east end have been later rebuilt. Its most striking feature is its dynamic Cypriot Gothic façade.

Art historical research this century has moved away from a restricted concept of 'crusader art'—predominantly expressing the result of the impact of the import of western artistic concepts to the east—to embracing a more pluralistic approach which

13. Former Cathedral of St Nicholas, Famagusta, Cyprus.

examines the complex interactions of different cultures across the Mediterranean including the contribution made by indigenous communities within the Holy Land. The resulting confluence displays both the vibrancy and diversity of cultural production which depends on the one hand on multiple interactions and, on the other, on the firm hand of the institutions of state, especially the Church, monarchy, and the military orders, in the ordering of society. A key aspect is the everyday experience of all strata of society reacting to the aesthetic, spiritual, and tactile characteristics of buildings and works of art fashioned and curated within this unique environment.

CHAPTER 7

Weapons and Tactics

STEVE TIBBLE

THE tragedy of crusading warfare hinged on systemic issues relating to men and manoeuvrability. From a European perspective there were never enough men. And they were never as manoeuvrable as their opponents. Perhaps inevitably, the military history of the crusades is the story of the journey the Franks took to try to overcome, or at least mitigate, the effects of those two fundamental problems.

Learning the Hard Way—The Field of Blood

In June 1119, the principality of Antioch was under attack by large numbers of Turkic nomads, led by Najm al-Din Il-Ghazi, ruler of Mardin. Roger, its prince, decided to move towards his town and citadel of al-Atharib to meet Il-Ghazi and his men in battle or, if they fell back, to pursue them and attack them as they retreated. A Frankish official named Walter the Chancellor, who later wrote a remarkable record of the campaign, took a note of Roger's orders. He was probably involved in writing them down in full, and conveying them to the different divisional commanders. Planning for the action ahead was thoughtful. But there were also serious problems, at the core of which was a lack of intelligence about the enemy. Perhaps not surprisingly, given the very large numbers of light cavalry which Il-Ghazi could deploy, Frankish long-range reconnaissance was extremely limited.

The Turcopole light cavalry were the first units up in the morning, with orders to scout ahead of the army, but only in its immediate vicinity and along the route of march. A force of forty knights, perhaps accompanied by a number of auxiliary cavalry, maybe some eighty men in total, was also sent ahead. Their main role was probably to trigger prematurely any ambushes that might be set along the Franks' proposed line of march. The Franks had some tactical and operational sense of the enemy's movements—but it was also clear that on a more strategic level they were almost completely blind-sided. Foreboding was in the air. Roger tried to appear confident to his men, but in private he knew that there could be trouble ahead.

The army rose before dawn. While the Turcopoles set out on patrol, the rest of the army gathered for communion. Roger himself made confession and gave alms to the

1. Charging knights and trebuchet from the Morgan Bible (1240s).

poor, readying himself spiritually for the fight ahead. As the army adjusted its equipment and gradually set off, Roger and his household knights found time for a little hunting, ostentatiously relaxed in front of his men, to calm their pre-battle nerves, and take the opportunity to get a sense of the terrain along the line of march. But Walter knew Roger well, and noticed how anxious he was. Afterwards he wrote that the prince's 'future appeared before him'. Filled with foreboding, Roger brought his hunting to an abrupt close. Instead, he rode to a hilltop tower where he had sent ten knights to act as a scouting party the previous night. As he left the tower, however, 'a messenger came up to him who had ridden at great speed'. Roger's uneasiness was not helped by the messenger's obvious panic. The Frankish scout reported that he had seen 'enemy hordes all over the mountain slopes'. He had seen large numbers of Muslim cavalry in places 'not even accessible to the tracks of wild beasts'.

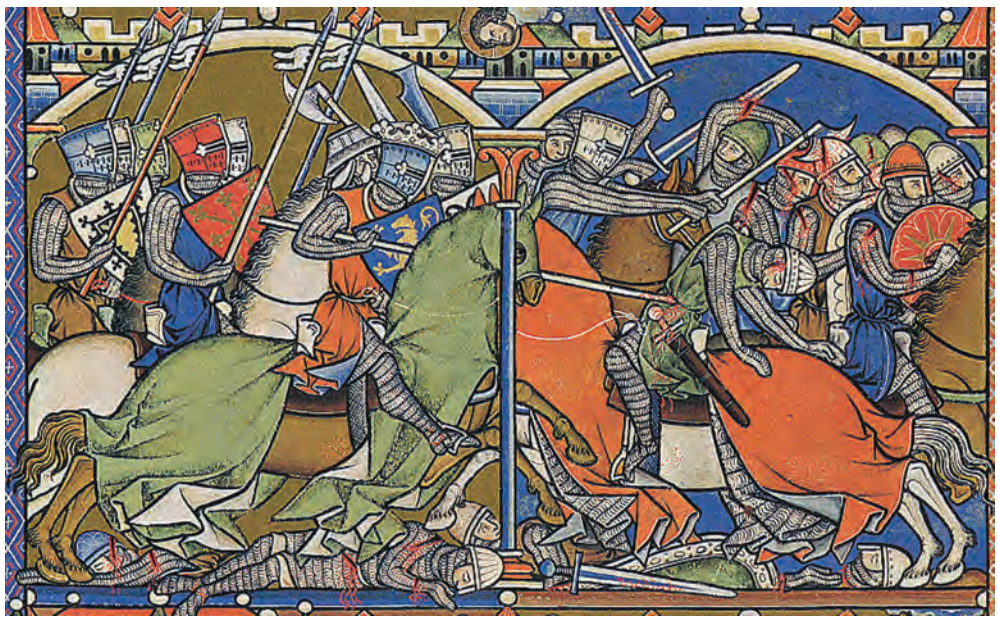
The sense of danger was mounting. Roger was told that the enemy were 'approaching us quickly from three directions … and … that innumerable columns, distinguished both by standards and by other displays of cyphers, are following the first ones'. The scout was unnerved and anxious—but he was entirely correct. The Aleppan chronicle of Kamal al-Din gives an uncannily similar account, writing that 'as dawn broke they saw the Muslim standards advancing to surround them completely'.

Roger had imagined the sides of the plain could not be negotiated by large groups of cavalry. The Frankish commanders had been 'convinced that no one could get to them because the access was so difficult'. They were wrong. They now found themselves

surrounded on three sides, with the vanguard of the enemy forces advancing faster than they had thought possible. The speed of the Muslim approach meant that orders needed to be transmitted hurriedly. The tension of the decision making made it difficult to keep the army calm. Even the lowest of the foot soldiers knew that something was wrong. Events were moving far too quickly.

The army was ordered to form up in battle formation. They were to use the portable shrine, which seems to have been with Roger in the central battle line, as their main point of alignment. But the situation was deteriorating so fast that Roger had difficulty in keeping up with changing circumstances. Another jittery messenger arrived before the first scout had even finished being debriefed. The news was rapidly becoming worse. The nervous scout reported that the Turkic cavalry had already moved round their flanks—the army was increasingly surrounded. Roger had much less time to deploy than he had imagined. He had wanted to make a rousing speech and conduct a last-minute briefing of unit commanders. But there was no time. Events had spiralled out of control.

Some of the knights who had been sent forward in front of the marching army were beginning to filter back. Alberic, one of the senior knights, brought news which was deeply troubling. Perhaps for the first time, Roger became aware of the size of the enemy force he was facing. The men began to smell panic in the air. Walter, who was there when Alberic galloped into camp, described him as being so shocked by what he had seen that he looked like 'a person…who had been struck by a lance in his face and pierced by an arrow almost in his eye'. The Frankish knights had encountered large



2. Cavalry battle from the Morgan Bible (1240s).

groups of enemy cavalry and most of the Christian scouts had been killed. Mauger of Hauteville, commander of the detachment, was another survivor. He got back to camp soon after Alberic, accompanied by just one knight. They were both badly shaken by what they had seen. As was often the case when fighting nomadic cavalry, their horses had received many wounds, as they were 'struck with arrows, [and] overpowered by… missiles'. The animals were so weakened by their ordeal that they died while their riders were being debriefed by Prince Roger. The news was appalling. Muslim troops were much closer than they had expected. As feared, they were approaching head on but had also moved round both flanks. The battle had not yet started, but the Antiochenes were already almost surrounded.

Prince Roger realized that things were unravelling in front of him. Shocked by the torrent of events unfolding around him, he made a major mistake—a mistake which sealed the fate of the entire army. The best chance of reaching safety lay in carrying out a disciplined 'fighting march' forward to the relative safety of al-Atharib castle. But this would have been difficult to conduct. Given the large number of poor calibre infantry in the army, Roger may not have thought it was feasible. Instead, he decided to charge into the centre of the increasingly dense Muslim lines, hoping to push his way through to al-Atharib before the enemy could regroup. The prince knew that the first charge would be decisive.

The battle would hinge on the Frankish vanguard. This consisted of five units of heavy cavalry, the spearhead of the Frankish army. Foremost among these were the 'battle lines of St Peter', an elite military confraternity. The attack was due to go in from right to left, and probably echeloned across the line. The 'battle line of St Peter' were given the position of honour: stationed on the right of the line, they would be the first into combat. The confraternity smashed into the Muslim lines to their front and, 'giving their horses their heads, brandishing their lances as they made haste to strike the cohort in their path violently and quickly', put their opponents to flight.

This success triggered an onslaught from Geoffrey the Monk's contingent, drawn mainly from his lands around Marash, and the next Frankish unit in the line. This charge was also successful, routing the Turkic troops to their front, and other Muslim units on their flank. Il-Ghazi's vanguard was looking increasingly fragile. Guy Fresnel and his knights were the unit next along the line. They too charged into the Turkic ranks, and 'attacked and assaulted the enemy with all [their] might'. Even Muslim chroniclers acknowledged that the Franks 'gave a redoubtable charge and the Muslims turned their backs in flight'. Despite the numbers of enemy troops in front of them, the charges on the right and centre had been successful. The battle hung in the balance.

But numbers still counted. Muslim reinforcements immediately stepped in to fill the gaps. The routed Turkic vanguard regrouped behind the waves of horsemen who were coming up behind them. And there were vast numbers of nomadic cavalry still entering the sides of the battlefield. Fast-moving enemy cavalry swept round the flanks of the Christian army, moving back towards the baggage train and rear. Meanwhile, it was also clear that the Turcopoles were fighting a losing battle. They had been tasked with shielding

3. Attack on an enemy camp from the Morgan Bible (1240s).

the left flank of the vanguard for long enough to allow them to charge in—instead, they were gradually pushed back by their opponents. By the time Robert of St Lo's contingent was ready to attack, the Turcopoles were beginning to intermingle with neighbouring units and blocked their line of advance. The Christian light cavalry soon broke altogether. To make matters even worse, their panic-stricken rout was infectious. The fleeing Turcopoles 'carried along with them part of the prince's cohort as they scattered'.

The Frankish rearguard division began to disintegrate. They knew things were not going well. Turkic troops were beginning to filter round the flanks. Some of the broken Antiochene vanguard were running back past them. The rearguard ran even before they made contact with the enemy—they decided, shamefully but correctly, that the battle had been lost.

Meanwhile, Il-Ghazi's troops were softening up the Frankish centre and vanguard with archery prior to moving in for close-quarters fighting. The arrow storm created by thousands, possibly tens of thousands, of Turkic cavalry was immense. Men later reported that 'the horses [were] stretched out on the ground like hedgehogs because of the quantity of arrows sticking into them'. The slow-moving Franks were subjected to a 'hail of arrows which fell like a cloud of grasshoppers'. Roger now had, literally, almost no room for manoeuvre. Rapidly running out of options, he and his household knights determined to make a stand around the portable shrine. Well armoured and surrounded by devoted bodyguards, Roger was hard to bring down. But there could only be one outcome. In the close-quarters fighting that engulfed the Christian defence in the centre of the army, a sword thrust under his nasal guard killed him instantly, as the remains of the Christian centre was overrun. Roger 'was struck by a knight's sword

through the middle of his nose right into his brain…After this attack, the priest was killed who was carrying that same Cross in his hands.'

Roger's tent and the army's mobile chapel remained a last focal point for small groups of Christian soldiers. One of his Armenian knights rallied some troops in front of the shrine and managed to hold off the attackers briefly: he was said to have killed a Muslim emir, before he and his men were also cut down. Within minutes the Christians were either in chains or dead. The army of Antioch was 'on the ground, one prostrate mass, horsemen and footmen alike, with their horses and their weapons, so that not one man of them escaped to tell the tale, and their leader Roger was found stretched out among the dead'.

The battle of Ager Sanguinis, the redolently named Field of Blood, was the nightmare of the Crusader States. It encapsulated all that was challenging, and absolutely horrifying, about war on Christendom's eastern front. And, as a case study, it introduces the problems, and the tentative solutions, associated with crusading warfare. Roger's Turkic opponents were an all-cavalry force, and operating in huge numbers. This combination of high manoeuvrability and overwhelming numbers had severe consequences. Roger was unable to get accurate intelligence of their numbers or movements; when he slowly blundered into them his largely infantry army was easy to outflank; once surrounded, the huge number of enemy archers could unleash storms of arrows to disorientate the men and wound the vulnerable horses; and when the army was thoroughly destabilized, the Turkic cavalry closed in for the kill.

Roger lost the battle. He was unlucky and overconfident. But he was not incompetent. He had correctly identified the key factors that a Frankish army needed to address on the battlefield. He had gone to some lengths to try to ensure that his knights had a

4. Siege warfare from the Morgan Bible (1240s).

good chance of launching a strong charge into the enemy centre: if it connected properly, such a charge could be hugely destructive. He had developed a corps of Christian light cavalry archers to protect the flanks of the knightly charge. He had begun to develop a semi-religious cavalry elite (the 'battle line of St Peter'). And he had tried to mitigate his manpower issues by calling on the support of native Christians—they accounted for the majority of his troops. Nonetheless, Roger failed. He had been outmanoeuvred on a strategic as well as a tactical level. Ultimately, the Field of Blood was a battle which he could not win—with hindsight, the only correct option was to avoid fighting it. But the problems he faced and the tactical responses he made clearly showed how crusading military practice needed to develop over time: the lessons were the 'to do' list of crusading warfare.

The Crisis of Frankish Manpower

A chronic lack of troops made the survival of the Crusader States unlikely from the very beginning. The need for manpower is shown in the extreme measures taken to ensure the military service of all available men. Even priests were recognized as having military potential. Christianity was theoretically pacifist, and canon law in Europe would have expressly forbidden priests from fighting. But in the Latin East, it was both expected and needed. Raiders could come at any time. Clerics might have to supply military leadership for their congregations. Even so, it was always clear that the mobilization of the European population was never going to be enough.

Although there were very few Europeans or crusaders in the Middle East in 1099, however, that is not to say that there were not many Christians. Muslim armies had swept across much of the Middle East from the seventh century onwards, but the Christian civil population (albeit generally not Catholics) were still in the majority across most of the Crusader States.

The rulers of the Crusader States were never a highly ideological or fanatical group, defined by their race or the zealotry of their religion. They did not impose an intolerant tyranny on their subjects: it is doubtful that they had the resources to do so, even if they had been that way inclined. Instead, most of the local Christian population generally enjoyed harmonious relations with the increasingly ethnically intermixed 'Frankish' population.

There were particularly large numbers of Christians in the principality of Antioch and the county of Edessa. The most prominent, in terms of their interactions with the Franks, were the Armenians. It is hard to overestimate their influence or their military contribution. Most of the rulers of Jerusalem were at least partly of Armenian descent and, in a region which had seen most of the population deliberately demilitarized since classical times, the Armenians were always exceptional. Occupying harsh lands on border marches, the area had a tendency to breed good soldiers. Armenian knights were always present in the Frankish military and took their place in the highest ranks of the army.

Armenian soldiers also provided important military specialists. The fact that they had developed and maintained such specialisms showed the extent to which these skills were needed. At the critical siege of Tyre in 1124, for example, the crusaders' hard-won success was largely due to the expertise of an Armenian artillery specialist named Havedic: a region in a perpetual state of war was clearly a good training ground for high-calibre mercenaries such as this.

The Maronites were another warlike Christian community and were generally well disposed towards the Franks. They were originally from the region around Antioch, but by the time of the First Crusade they had taken refuge in the northern mountain ranges of what became the county of Tripoli, broadly modern Lebanon. William of Tyre wrote that 'they were generally estimated at more than 40,000…They were a stalwart race, valiant fighters, and of great service to the Christians in the difficult engagements which they so frequently had with the enemy.' William was perhaps being optimistic with regard to numbers, but he was correct in suggesting that there were a lot of them, and that they were good men to have on your side in a fight. The close links between the Maronites and the Franks culminated in 1181 with the Maronites moving towards union with the Catholic Church. In a deeply religious age this was an extremely strong signal of the close alignment of their strategic and military interests.

Local Arabs, from Greek or Syrian Orthodox communities, also had a military role to play. There were certainly knights and many infantry units from the local Orthodox Arab communities in the kingdom of Jerusalem. It might have been called the 'Latin' kingdom of Jerusalem, and the upper echelons of society were dominated by the Catholic Franks: but it was also a state where ethnic and religious boundaries were not entirely impermeable. Above all, there was a tacit recognition that it was a society at war, with chronic manpower problems.

The 'crusader' armies of the Middle East in the twelfth century often had relatively few genuine crusaders in them. Soon after their arrival, the majority of the Franks were mixed-race local settlers. Many of them, perhaps most, had never set foot in Europe. And in many crusader armies even these local Franks were in a minority, marching in units with Armenian-speaking comrades, or with other native Christian soldiers. Crusader armies rarely corresponded to the crude caricatures we paint of them.

Men and Weapons: Knights

As with the different communities represented within crusader armies, we need to resist the temptation to be overly rigid when looking at the different kinds of troop types. These were desperate times, with manpower in short supply. Desperation meant that ethnicity and religious preferences would often be overlooked.

Knights were the celebrities of Frankish society. And in some regards they were the main battle tanks of the army. They shared some of the characteristics of both. Small in number and extremely high profile, they could win a battle in minutes. But, like celebrities, they could be fragile and fractious. And, like tanks, they were few in number

and vulnerable if they were not carefully supported or if their attack was launched under the wrong conditions.

The knight was an expensive but adaptable weapons system. They could be deployed on horseback or on foot. They could be found using a lance in the charge, a sword or mace in close combat, or, often forgotten, firing a crossbow or bow during a siege. Luckily for their enemies, there were never many knights available at any given time. They were formidable but expensive. The lists of knightly service owed to the king of Jerusalem by the leading fief holders were nominally written around 1265 but internal details suggest that they reflect the state of affairs in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem at some time between 1183 and 1186. The number of knights was shockingly small. If everyone fulfilled their obligations the total number was around 675. We do not have the equivalent lists for the other Crusader States, but the principality of Antioch seems to have had a broadly similar level of knightly service. When Roger of Antioch went into battle at the Field of Blood in 1119, without waiting for help from the other Frankish armies, his knightly contingent was said to be some 700 strong.

The combined total of the feudal knightly contingents available across all four of the Crusader States in the twelfth century amounted to just 2,000 men: approximately 700 each from Jerusalem and Antioch, and with Edessa and Tripoli perhaps another 300 men each. And these figures are not a minimum: there were always some knights who were too ill to serve, and others who were prisoners of war, or too old.

The knights were extremely well equipped and that was reflected in the sheer difficulty of trying to stop them. Anna Komnene, the Byzantine princess, reflected the views of the Byzantine military establishment when she wrote that the Franks' 'cuirasses and coats of mail made them almost, if not entirely invulnerable'. Similarly, *The Rule of the Templars* (the twelfth-century 'best practice' guide to life in the order) makes it clear that each of the brother knights was a medieval armoury in microcosm—they had several layers of protection, a range of weapons for contact with the enemy, and good horses to carry them.

The head and face were always particularly vulnerable to Turkic archery and required great attention. At the beginning of our period the helmets worn by the knights and many of the better armed infantry would be very familiar to us from the representations on the Bayeux tapestry, with their characteristic nasal guards. Increasing efforts were made to protect the face, however. These were particularly needed because of the high volume of projectiles that were inevitably directed at the front ranks of any charge. By the middle of the twelfth century we find that other types had also emerged, and round-topped or cylindrical helmet designs were gradually introduced: by the thirteenth century, full face protection was the norm.

The hauberk was the other core element of defensive equipment. It was the main body armour worn by a knight, and an essential piece of equipment: but it did not come cheap. A full mail suit took at least 140 hours of highly skilled labour to construct, in addition to the cost of the metal. Most would have weighed around 25 pounds. There was always a trade-off between cost, protection, and mobility, but with

a fit, trained man and the weight distributed evenly across the shoulders, it would not have presented too much of a problem.

Shields were made of wood, covered with leather, reinforced by a rim of metal or leather. The large kite shield provided further protection, particularly along the front and left side of a knight during the all-important charge. The curved top of the shield became less pronounced as the century progressed, but this remained the dominant knightly shield design throughout the twelfth century. Over time, and particularly during the thirteenth century, shields became smaller and thicker. The knights were equipped with a range of weapons. The lance, approximately 4 metres long, was the preferred weapon for the initial charge. These would often shatter on impact, and if the mêlée became closer and ground to a slower pace, lances would be dropped: weapons such as swords or maces would be drawn instead. Sword design changed relatively little in this period. Most were generally straight, double-edged weapons, broadswords, weighing about 3 pounds or a little less, and were well suited for the slashing and hacking of a cavalry mêlée.

The most important and vulnerable piece of equipment used by a knight, however, was his horse. Training was important and started very young. It was thought vital that

5. Twelfth-century sword from the Wallace Collection. Sword (iron & steel) European School (twelfth century).

good riding skills should be ingrained before puberty. Ongoing training was important, for both horse and rider. The knightly pursuit of the hunt as a form of relaxation was also a very practical way of ensuring that riding skills were continually honed. During the twelfth century almost all Frankish horses were unarmoured, despite the fact that they presented a much bigger and easier target than their riders. It is significant that although there were huge numbers of horses in the crusader army at Hattin (perhaps some 10,000 animals), none had emerged unscathed—much to the chagrin of their Muslim victors, who were looking for valuable booty. The arrow storms unleashed by Saladin's archers had done their work all too well.

Some efforts were made to mitigate this weakness. By the thirteenth century cloth horse coverings (caparisons) were common. These caparisons were not armoured, but must have offered some protection to the animal, if only from smaller or longer range projectiles which were losing velocity. An inventory of Templar possessions in Cyprus in 1308 also indicated that some progress had been made in developing defences for their mounts: the items catalogued included some pieces of armour for the horses as well as the men. Fully armoured horses, however, while not unknown, were extremely rare.

Men and Weapons: Squires

There were a large number of squires in the army, as each knight had one or more squires to assist him. The exact role and status of the squires seemed to vary according to individual circumstances, and the term 'squire' inevitably covered a range of different social positions. Some, for instance, were trainee knights and therefore of high social status. Others were servants, acting as grooms, baggage attendants, and so on. This inevitably affected the military roles they were given when on active service.

It is certainly true that squires were not generally expected to fight in the front rank of the charge: that life-shortening honour was given to the knights. Even then, however, when circumstances dictated, exceptions were made. In 1101, for instance, there were so few knights that attempts were made to upgrade some of the better trained squires socially and, as far as possible, in terms of weapons and roles. We know that in the military orders at least, the squires had to play an active role in combat. When battle became imminent, they formed a squadron of their own, under the command of the order's standard bearer. Those leading warhorses would hand them over to their brother knight: then, riding their own horse, they would fall in behind the brother knights and form part of the rear ranks of the charge.

The squires did not have the necessary training or equipment to allow them to serve in the front rank. Some of the younger boys were probably physically incapable of doing so effectively, even if they had been fully equipped. But in a militarized society, living on a knife edge and with a permanently undermanned army, they were expected to do their part on the battlefield.

6. Thirteenth- or fourteenth-century sword from the Wallace Collection:, European School, France, *c.*1270–1350 (iron…) (thirteenth–fourteenth century).

Men and Weapons: Mounted Sergeants

The knights were the fine but fragile tip of the army. The mounted sergeants were, in theory at least, the solid block of heavy cavalry that rode in behind them, and helped bring critical mass to an attack. Together with the squires and the Turcopoles, they provided the numbers required to exploit a successful charge. They could help turn a short-term breakthrough into a battle-winning rout.

John of Ibelin's list of military obligations recorded what 'the churches and the burgesses [i.e. the townsfolk] owe when there is a great need in the land of the kingdom of Jerusalem': in theory at least, they were expected to maintain just over 5,000 sergeants. This scale of obligation was substantial and could only have been offered on a temporary and emergency basis. The kinds of men these figures represented would inevitably be diverse, both qualitatively and ethnically. A few would be professional soldiers, perhaps mercenaries drawn from other parts of the Middle East, or soldiers from the west. Some would be Armenian veterans, perhaps with years of experience. Others might be yeoman farmers from the Frankish colonial settlements, or burgesses from the towns: men who were well motivated and independent but not

necessarily highly skilled at arms. Or, at the other end of the scale, some might be vagrants or destitute pilgrims, gathered together at the last moment to make up numbers and meet legal obligations.

We do not know whether these men were expected to serve as cavalry or infantry. As usual, it is probably wise not to be too definitive. There was certainly a continual need for additional cavalry to support the kingdom's embattled knights: this would suggest that pressure was applied to ensure as many sergeants as possible were mounted. On the other hand, it is hard to believe that large numbers of cavalry existed in the towns and on ecclesiastical estates, and yet could only be called upon in emergencies. If such a force was available on tap, well equipped, and with adequate horses, it would surely have been made part of the kingdom's normal fighting capabilities.

Certainly, many served as infantry. In the case of Magna Mahomeria, a colonial settlement of the Holy Sepulchre, no less than sixty-five of the younger Franks from the settlement joined the royal muster: we only know of their existence because, by unhappy chance, they were almost wiped out when Saladin's men temporarily overran their position in the suburbs of Gaza in 1170. They were described as lightly armed youths and arrived late at the muster point, so it seems that they were an inexperienced infantry unit, taken from the local rural militia and called up as part of the *arrière-ban*.

The mounted sergeants, along with the squires, also had a vital role to play. Often invisible and always overshadowed by their social superiors, the sergeants and squires were important in filling out the ranks of any charge. But regardless of how many of the sergeants on John of Ibelin's lists were equipped as cavalry or as infantry, both had a role to play from the earliest days of the Frankish armies. Indeed, given the perennial shortage of knights and the appalling mortality rates they suffered, that would inevitably be the case.

Men and Weapons: Turcopoles

The Turcopoles were the other low-profile but essential warriors of crusading warfare. Outnumbered, surrounded, and often operating in unfavourable terrain, the cumbersome crusaders should have been easily crushed soon after they had arrived. The extraordinary staying power of the Frankish military in the Middle East is almost inexplicable without an appreciation of the role of the Turcopoles: but their numbers and the vital roles they played have been grossly underestimated.

By the time the armies of the First Crusade reached Asia Minor, Turcopoles were already a central feature of the Byzantine army. The Franks soon became aware of their need for such troops. Like the Byzantines, they used the term 'Turcopole' for the light cavalry archers who they started to recruit. The northern Crusader States of Antioch and Edessa had more access to small groups of nomads, filtering into the region from the north-east, and these doubtless provided at least some of their new recruits. It is no coincidence that when we see Turcopoles operating on the battlefield in a high-profile

7. Miniature effigy of a warrior from the Wallace Collection: Miniature (bronze & gold, gilded).

and semi-independent role, it is generally when they were operating within the Antiochene field army.

The more southerly Franks, however, and particularly those in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and the county of Tripoli, had no consistent source of Turkic manpower which they could tap into. Over time therefore, the term 'Turcopole' seems to have lost its ethnic specificity. That is not to suggest that there were no individuals of Turkic origin among the Frankish light cavalry: posing as potential Turkic recruits for Turcopole units was the classic *modus operandi* for Assassins trying to inveigle themselves into Frankish households, even in the final days of the Crusader States. Any suitable Turkic recruits were clearly extremely welcome. But there were not many of them to choose from.

Recruitment for this troop type took place among anybody who was suitable, regardless of origin. Over time, the calibre and skills of the Turcopoles seem to have improved. They began to take a more prominent role in the military affairs of the Crusader States: operating on a semi-independent basis, they were generally outnumbered and outclassed by genuine Turkic cavalry. The looseness of the Frankish definition is shown by the fact that Turcopoles and mounted sergeants were sometimes jointly described as *equites levis armaturae*, that is lightly armed cavalry. It seems likely

that at least some contemporary writers saw 'Turcopoles' as a subset of the less heavily armed cavalry known as *sergens à cheval*.

But the most important thing about the Turcopoles, regardless of the descriptive labels attached to them, is their sheer volume. There were a lot of them, and at a time when the Franks needed every man they could get. They are often unmentioned in the chronicles, but when we do come across them, it is clear that they formed a very large part of the Frankish mounted arm: sometimes they even formed the majority. A cavalry detachment from Tripoli in 1109, for example, commanded by the count himself, became lost and was intercepted by the *askar* of Shaizar (the more regular cavalry contingent): an account of the fighting that ensued makes clear that at least 40 per cent of the Frankish troops were Turcopoles. Similarly, in writing of a Frankish cavalry force in Egypt in 1167, fully two-thirds of the men are described as Turcopoles. Likewise, the Frankish army which was fielded against Saladin's forces in 1183 had a cavalry contingent of whom 50 per cent were Turcopoles and they also appear to have constituted the largest single part (perhaps even the majority) of the Frankish mounted arm at Hattin four years later.

The way in which Turcopoles were used changed over time, in the light of experience and a frank analysis of their strengths and weaknesses. As we have seen, the northern Franks (led by commanders such as Prince Roger of Antioch) had access to larger numbers of militarized local Christians and Turkic mercenaries. Emboldened by this abundance, in the first two decades of the twelfth century they seem to have deployed them as a separate arm.

The experiment entailed deploying the Turcopoles as semi-independent units at the front of the Frankish battle line: here they were tasked with protecting the flanks of the knights to ensure that their charge could take place with minimal disruption. This role was plausible in theory but in practice it was an absolute disaster. At the Field of Blood the crusaders were so outnumbered and outmanoeuvred that they had little chance of success: but the poor performance of the Turcopoles certainly contributed significantly to their failure. It is no coincidence that this is the last time the chronicles mention them being deployed in an independent battlefield role.

The best way to use Turcopoles was eventually felt to be to split their main contribution into two. On the battlefield they were deployed in the charge, but only in the rear ranks, alongside the squires, rather than having an independent role; on campaign, they were given the full range of operational tasks normally associated with light cavalry. The Turcopoles were thus used as the 'workhorse' of the Frankish armies. The flexibility they provided allowed the slower crusader armies to operate and survive in a military environment where their opponents had a far greater degree of manoeuvrability. We tend to focus on the knights, for instance, but it is easy to forget that the majority of troops in most Frankish armies were the even more slow-moving crossbowmen and spears.

The issue of how best to protect the flanks of charging knights was partly addressed by charging in echelon; by improving the discipline of the charge (and hence reducing

the elapsed time between launch and impact); and by operating under the protection of Frankish infantry archers and crossbowmen. It was also partly resolved by placing large numbers of Turcopoles, squires, and mounted sergeants in ranks behind the charging knights: while this was not a perfect solution, it at least gave the knights some protection from flanks and rear.

The Turcopoles also had a role in terms of reconnaissance, particularly in the thirteenth century, and seem to have become more closely associated with the military orders over time. Templar Turcopoles, for instance, had their own senior officers in the order and would often go out on scouting missions ahead of the main body of knights. They might scout on their own but also had small groups of knights attached to them in case the fighting intensified. The Turcopoles were never able to fully neutralize the threat faced by the crusaders: nomadic cavalry were far too good to be dealt with so easily. But they were able to help in a lot of other tactical and operational roles.

Men and Weapons: Infantry

Back in the west, infantry of this period were often poorly armoured and equipped. They were treated as social and military inferiors by the mounted elite. In the Crusader States, however, their role gradually assumed greater prominence. The inconvenient truth of warfare in the east was that any European-style army needed to have large numbers of missile-armed infantry, archers, or crossbowmen if it was to survive the onslaught of enemy light cavalry archers. The need for crusader armies to include significant numbers of effective infantry was recognized at an early stage: the penalties for not doing so were severe.

As so often, demand helped drive progress. The process of upgrading the available infantry had begun at an early stage. The infantry survivors of the First Crusade were true veterans. The Darwinian consequences of the battles and hardships of the march meant that the survivors were the most experienced and hardened of their peers, equipped with the best armour and weapons available, taken from those who had fallen around them.

The increasing professionalism of the crusading infantry was reflected in the quality and sophistication of their defensive armour. We find examples where infantrymen were still fighting and manoeuvring in formation despite having many arrows sticking out of their armour. As chroniclers delighted in pointing out, they looked more like hedgehogs than men.

The crossbow was one of the key weapons of the Frankish army. The social status of the lance (and those who wielded it) ensured that it got much more attention in the chronicles. But the crossbow was arguably just as important. The relationship between crossbow and lance encapsulated the interdependency of infantry and cavalry in the army, and helped dictate many of the tactics of how to deploy a crusading army. The crossbow was more effective than a simple bow, with a good range and excellent penetrative power. Importantly for an army which had to rely in large part on irregular conscripts, it was, unlike a bow, easy to operate and required far less training. A good

archer was the product of years of training: an adequate crossbowman could be fielded in a matter of days. It was the ideal weapon for, say, an urban militia or the colonial farmers called up as part of the *arrière-ban*. Crossbow design improved over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Heavier and simpler wooden bows were gradually supplemented and superseded by lighter and more expensive composite horn bows. The more sophisticated newer models would be more likely to be used by the military orders or more specialist mercenaries. But the simpler versions would be found over a longer period of time among the militia or poorer and less professional elements of the army: they were still capable of good service.

From the earliest days of the Latin kingdom commentators were aware that the Frankish army operated best as a 'combined arms' force, and that disaster was more likely to strike if either arm was left to fight on its own. In May 1102 at the battle of Ramla, for instance, King Baldwin I of Jerusalem was widely criticized for pressing on into battle without waiting for his infantry: 'It was indeed very rash for the king to neglect to wait for his men and to proceed into battle in disorderly fashion because he should have known better.'

The knights needed infantry support but the reverse was also true. Infantry could be decimated by enemy cavalry when isolated. As Fulcher of Chartres commented about the battle of Jaffa in 1102, the infantry needed support just as much as the knights did:

> When our [knights] by vigorous fighting penetrated the hostile ranks in one place, it was immediately necessary to come back somewhere else. This was because our enemies, when they saw our footmen without the protection of knights, would rush at once to that place and slay those in the rear.

As we shall see when looking at the 'fighting march', the Frankish infantry were capable of performing disciplined manoeuvres in the face of the enemy, even when closely engaged. Fresh units were able to relieve tired ones, and take their place in the battle line. Baha' al-Din noted that during an attack on a Frankish column some 'of their infantry rested while marching beside the sea, not being engaged in the fight. When those engaged in the battle became tired or were debilitated by wounds, the company that had been resting would take their place and the previously active company would take a rest.'

The sophistication of the Frankish infantry should not be overstated. Their quality was inevitably variable. Every force would encompass men with widely differing weapons and skills. Unlike Western Europe, however, the key difference in the Crusader States was the urgency of the need: no Frankish army could survive without them. Footmen in the east had to be better equipped, better deployed, and far better integrated into military practice. Desperation, as ever, pushed aside the conservatism of social conventions.

Men and Weapons: Mercenaries and a Standing Army?

Under these circumstances it was not surprising that mercenaries formed an increasingly important part of Frankish armies. The word 'mercenary' has pejorative

8. Chainmail shirt from the Wallace Collection German School (fourteenth–fifteenth century).

connotations to a modern ear. In the context of the time it was far more neutral and pragmatic, however. These were often merely men fighting for pay and subsistence rather than because of feudal obligations: needing to earn a salary while on campaign was not necessarily at odds with motivations of piety or patriotism.

The range of men classed as mercenaries also covered a wide range of troops and skills. Some might be highly professional soldiers from Western Europe with specialist skills, for instance with crossbows or with particular aspects of siege warfare. Others might be relatively poor and unskilled men armed with a spear, available for pay when replacements were needed. The most ambitious mercenaries were knights from the highest ranks of society, and these tended to cause most social friction. They were a valuable source of talent, but the fact that they were ultimately looking for fiefs (and widows) rather than just a salary meant that they provoked much jealousy among the local nobility.

Large parts of the defence of the Crusader States were given over to mercenary units, and the reliance placed on them increased over time. Even by 1132, for instance, William of Tyre, in discussing the capture of Banyas by the Damascene forces in December of that year, makes it clear that the entire Frankish garrison were mercenaries.

As the 'arms race' with Saladin and the Ayyubid super-state hotted up later in the twelfth century, demand for mercenaries became even greater. The principle of

taxation, arrived at by the general council of the Latin kingdom in 1183, had a primary purpose of allowing greater numbers of paid soldiers to be hired. The entire direction of the economy was being geared towards its ability to support large mercenary contingents. This was now a society on a permanent war footing. The demand for mercenaries was generated by the need to create some semblance of a standing army. This was largely to compensate for the vagaries of the crusading movement as a military solution for a series of strategic problems that demanded longer term and more consistent solutions: crusaders might be willing, but they were in practice ill-acclimatized and transitory armed tourists.

Other means were used to keep forces of disciplined and experienced (if not exactly 'regular') troops in the field. The military orders, particularly the Templars and the Hospitallers, continued to maintain longstanding forces in the region: each had about 300 knights and many other troops deployed in the region throughout the thirteenth century. Many western kings gave money for the specific purpose of supporting bodies of fighting men in the Holy Land. King Louis IX of France, for instance, maintained an active contribution to the defence of the Latin East. In 1254, after he had returned to Europe from crusade, he established a small army of a hundred knights in the east, initially based in Jaffa but latterly headquartered in Acre, supported by crossbowmen and sergeants. This group became known as the 'French Regiment', and remained stationed in the Latin kingdom, funded by Louis's successors. Its men were actively involved in the military history of the last decades of the Crusader States: at the climactic siege of Acre in 1291, for instance, the regiment was responsible for the important Tower of the Legate, fighting alongside an English unit commanded by Otto of Grandison.

The importance of a having a 'standing army', a group of trained men who could be relied upon for long-term defence, was well understood. But it was clear that the numbers which could be raised and sustained were pitifully small, when compared to the vast resources of their Muslim opponents. Despite increasingly desperate efforts, this was an irresolvable problem that got worse, rather than better, over time.

Tactics: The Charge

The distinctive nature of crusading warfare demanded the evolution of distinctive tactics—and the tactics of crusading warfare were deceptively different from warfare in the west. Taking the charge first, it is important to remember that they, like battles, were rare and often over in a matter of minutes. Yet it was these few minutes that could seal the fate of entire communities. Charges were never typical, but they could be brutally defining. It was in the charge that the knightly elite had to justify their status: their value was played out in the heat of battle, often against huge odds, and in full view of their peers and vassals. On the face of it, the knightly charge is not an innovation that one would imagine as having emanated from the crusades. On the contrary, one might intuitively suggest that the classic tactic of European and crusader armies was surely the knightly charge.

This is only true up to a point. The concept of the western heavy cavalry charge was subtly different in Outremer. These differences had a profound impact in the Holy Land and even back in Europe as well. Frankish charges in the east were better than their European equivalents. This was not a coincidence. They were better because they had to be and they were far more than just the transfer of best practice from the west. For a charge to succeed against a more mobile Turkic opponent, it needed to find an opportunity to connect. Unlike their counterparts on European battlefields, getting into contact and finding the 'fixed point' of an enemy in the east was far more difficult. Charges had to be better disciplined and timed to perfection if they were to have a chance of connecting with steppe cavalry.

The shock of a Frankish charge was often referred to in Muslim sources as their 'famous charge': it was acknowledged as being something to worry about. Ironically, given the primal impact of the charge and Frankish knights' reputation for arrogance, the true effectiveness of a Frankish charge lay in its restraint. Individuals charging wildly at an enemy unit could be countered, and defeated, as individuals. A tightly disciplined Frankish charge was elemental in its impact, however. If pushed through with determination, it could break the enemy on the spot. Once the momentum of the charge was lost, however, the fighting would become more general. The Frankish knights were highly trained and skilled, but in a mêlée numbers inevitably tell: the Christian armies rarely had numbers on their side.

The growth of the military orders in the course of the twelfth century helped improve the effectiveness of the charge. It meant that there was generally a core of semi-professional knights to hand: men bound together by strictly enforced vows and well practised in charging as a disciplined unit.

The surviving regulations of the Templars give us a sense of what their charge looked like. It was, in theory at least, strictly controlled. A pilgrim account, written in the decades before the battle of Hattin, was fulsome in describing the way the Templars deployed themselves: 'They go into battle in order and without making a noise, they are first to desire engagement and more vigorous than others; they are the first to go and the last to return, and they wait for their master's command before acting.' The level of interest and admiration this excited in a European visitor shows that this discipline was far from being typical: instead, it was highly unusual in the west. Mistakes that would have had few consequences when facing the cumbersome armies of Western Europe received a deadly punishment in the east. Crusader armies were better than their European counterparts when they charged: they had to be.

Tactics: The Fighting March

The 'fighting march' is the other tactical formation most closely associated with the crusader armies. At its most basic, the formation was an elongated rectangular 'box': the narrow end of the formation faced the direction of march. It consisted of three divisions: van, centre, and rear. In the centre division, and in the middle of the box,

would be the baggage train and non-combatants, together with standards and religious artefacts. The outer layers of the box consisted of infantry units, combining archers or crossbowmen (who forced enemy light cavalry to keep their distance) and spearmen. Sheltering behind them, for the protection of the horses, would be the cavalry. These would be held in reserve until the right moment came to launch a charge. Interdependency and protected flanks were thus at the heart of the successful fighting march.

From a Frankish perspective the preservation of healthy horseflesh was vital. The knights themselves were very well protected, but their horses were always extremely vulnerable to archery. The fighting march allowed the horses to move slowly but relatively safely, protected by heavy infantry. Similarly, the infantry on their own would always find it difficult to break a Muslim cavalry army, so their interests were aligned with the need to preserve a powerful crusader mounted force. But the interdependency did not stop there. As long as formations were kept tight, each of the three main divisions of a Frankish army on a 'fighting march' could rely on its comrades for support. The most vulnerable division was generally the rearguard. For this reason, the military orders were often given command of the rear, as this was the one for which their more disciplined knights were best suited.

9. Early medieval sword from the Wallace Collection: Sword, Germany, *c.*980–1150 (iron…) European School.

If cohesion could be maintained, the fighting march could be successfully conducted even under the most difficult of circumstances. But the fighting march was not primarily the response of 'crusaders' to 'Muslim' armies: instead, it was the response of sedentary societies, Byzantine and Frankish alike, to the threat posed by nomadic light cavalry. When fighting against the Fatimid Egyptians, for instance, no one thought that a fighting march was useful or necessary. Similarly, when facing the forces of the smaller Muslim city states in Syria, there is little evidence of the fighting march formation being used. In Usama's many war stories from Shaizar, Antioch, and Tripoli, for instance, the fighting is far too fluid for such a formation to be necessary or useful.

This was largely inevitable: the fighting march was cumbersome and severely limiting in terms of aggressive action. By depriving the enemy of vulnerable flanks or a rear against which to attack, the Christian army was protected: but it also limited the upside. Instead, it was often a way of preventing a battle from taking place, a battle that would otherwise have been played out on terms favourable to their Turkic opponents.

Tactics: The 'Combined Arms' Infantry Shieldwall

The knightly charge was the high-profile, potentially battle-winning moment of any major conflict. The infantry had lower status and the low profile that went with it: they were often referred to in passing or not at all. But in reality the interdependency of the knightly cavalry and the Frankish heavy infantry was almost complete. The infantry 'combined arms' shieldwall formed the outer layers of the 'box' in each fighting march and a rallying point in battles: behind the infantry, the heavy cavalry could prepare themselves before an attack, or recover after a charge. This form of passive-aggressive 'shieldwall' was a significant improvement on normal European practice, and played an important role in Frankish success on the battlefields of the Middle East.

The effectiveness of a Frankish shieldwall was partly a function of its sheer density. In one engagement we are told that the 'detachments kept themselves so closely together that an apple thrown into their midst would not fall to the ground without touching people or horses'. This certainly helped deter enemy cavalry: enemy riders would be outnumbered in hand-to-hand combat, but if they tried to come into close quarters, their horses would naturally tend to shy away from an unbroken formation of heavy infantry, particularly one which included steady spearmen. Density of fire-power was another strength of the formation. Nomadic light cavalry, manoeuvring around them at speed, would inevitably take up a great deal of space. The Frankish archers and crossbowmen, on the other hand, had a good range and their density meant that they could generally bring a higher volume of fire to bear on individual Muslim cavalry units as they approached.

We are lucky that a rare but detailed description of how a Frankish infantry contingent operated survives from the battle for Jaffa, in 1192. The infantry contribution would

normally have been glossed over but, as there were almost no knights present, the chroniclers had little choice but to include them in the narrative. Saladin's troops entered the town of Jaffa after a short siege. The Christian forces fell back into the citadel, but they could not hold out for long. Richard the Lionheart rushed to lead a small Frankish force to their aid but, as they had arrived by sea, they had few knights and almost no horses with them. The Franks were thus particularly dependent on the infantry.

We have unusually detailed information about the way the Frankish infantry lines were deployed. The basic infantry combat team consisted of two pairs of men. Two spearmen in the front rank provided cover with their shields and deterred enemy cavalry from making contact. Behind them a pair of crossbowmen operated a relay system which maximized protection and rate of fire: they either alternated firing or the better marksman of the pair stood in front, between the two shields, while his partner loaded another crossbow behind him. The chronicler Ralph of Coggeshall wrote that the infantry also set up makeshift barricades in front of their lines, including tent pegs and lines, to deter enemy horses. As with a Napoleonic square, it was enormously difficult to persuade horses to connect with such a formation.

The details of the engagement are interesting not because they were intrinsically unusual, but because it is rare to get such a focus on the infantry. In this instance, as the infantry scored a significant victory almost without the help of knights, the chroniclers had little choice but to look at how well-ordered Frankish footmen could perform. The victory was remarkable, if only because of the absence of Frankish cavalry. But there is little to suggest that the tactical abilities of the Frankish infantry at Jaffa in 1192 were particularly unusual. Given good leadership and deployment, this was exactly what crusader infantry were expected to do: keep enemy cavalry at bay and create a line behind which the knights could stay protected from enemy archery until the time to charge was right.

Tactics: Raids and Chevauchées

Battles and sieges are the iconic events of warfare in the Latin East, but they were high profile rather than typical. Both the Latins and Muslims found it immensely difficult to maintain an adequate fighting force in the field for any great length of time. Raids, in this context, were predictably common. They were a much cheaper, easier, and less high-risk way of conducting warfare. Usama's twelfth-century 'memoirs' illustrate the extent to which warfare was dominated by raiding and skirmishing. Although he was no stranger to set-piece conflicts and fought in several battles, most of Usama's active military service involved leading small groups of men on patrols, reconnaissance missions, or even cattle raids. His experience was equally true of the Latin elite, and the pattern was set from the first days of the Crusader States.

The early kings of Jerusalem, for instance, generally saw a respite from high-intensity warfare as an interlude to be filled with intimidatory raids and aggressive expeditions to keep their enemies off-balance. Their vassals in the frontier lordships

took a similarly proactive stance—continuous raiding by men such as the princes of Galilee and their small personal armies helped turn their garrison troops into hardened veterans. In the thirteenth century, however, the form and function of raiding changed—at least, for the Latins. As they became progressively weaker, so raiding expeditions became their only means of showing aggressive intent.

In the summer of 1271, for instance, soon after he arrived on crusade, Prince Edward of England

> mounted a raid and went to attack a rich village called St George which is about three leagues from Acre. The Templars and Hospitallers went with him, as did the other men of Acre…But a number of our men died there, on account of honey from bees and other things which they ate, as footmen were accustomed to do, so that they died on the road, from heat and from exhaustion and from the hot food which they had eaten.

Honey and 'hot' foreign food (whatever that meant) may or may not have been to blame. But the English troops were clearly very poorly acclimatized.

The attack was a statement of intent by the new arrivals. The limitations of the action were all too clear, however. St George is barely 10 miles east of the Christian capital of Acre—this was hardly a long-range threat to their enemies. And the casualties which the troops took from the climate and the unfamiliar conditions showed just how ill-prepared they still were.

A couple of months later, when the weather was somewhat cooler, and the men had become more used to local conditions, Edward tried once more. Again, the results were less than impressive. The English attacked but failed to capture the small castle of Cacho. It is also clear that although the castle was close to Christian territory, they would have felt unable to hold it even if they had taken it. The Franks' military capabilities had been embarrassingly diminished. These were merely ineffectual raids, full of danger and with very little meaningful upside. But Edward lacked the forces to do anything of greater significance.

The Franks' sense of powerlessness, confusion, and desperation was overwhelming. Their leaders had done the best they could for over 200 years. They had struggled to square the military circle they faced—their lack of men and their underlying lack of manoeuvrability. Helped by the frequent disunity of their enemies, they held out much longer than most would have reasonably expected. But ultimately, terminally disadvantaged by the vast forces of anthropology, geography, and demography, the defence of the Christian Middle East was a war they could not win.

CHAPTER 8

Islamic Responses

PAUL M. COBB

THE first recorded Muslim response to the crusades appears in a treatise on *jihad* written around 1105 by a minor Syrian preacher named ʿAli ibn Tahir al-Sulami, who recalled the moment when the Franks began their momentous siege of Antioch in the autumn of 1097. This alarming Frankish invasion caused one group of scholars in Damascus to weigh the various legal limits involved in the duty of *jihad*, or armed struggle against Islam's enemies. But subsequent Frankish successes encouraged al-Sulami to compile his own treatise about *jihad*'s merits, including the necessity of one's spiritual *jihad* against sin, and the ways one might fulfil this duty. Al-Sulami's treatise alone demonstrates that there was no single Islamic response to the crusades, even at this early date. Just as Muslim scholars acknowledged and debated the variety of the possible imperatives to fight the Franks, other Muslims from all walks of life pondered and responded to the arrival of Frankish warriors and settlers in diverse ways, and all the more so as the experience of crusading itself evolved and adapted to changing circumstances.

This context also obliged al-Sulami to search for an explanation for Frankish successes. For al-Sulami, the First Crusade into the Near East was merely the latest episode of a longer history that began not in 1095 with Pope Urban II's call at Clermont, but rather a generation earlier, with a sudden uptick in Frankish raids and conquests of Muslim territory in al-Andalus (Islamic Spain and Portugal) and Sicily. For him, there was one key feature that united the various areas of the Islamic world that became fronts for Frankish aggression in the eleventh century: political disunity. In this, al-Sulami was perceptive. In al-Andalus, the petty regional kingdoms known as *ta'ifas* dominated. Their shifting rivalries and allegiances provided an easy *entrée* for the Christian kings of the north, who offered military assistance in these rivalries and then captured lands and privileges for themselves in the process. In slow stages over centuries, the entire Iberian peninsula was taken, despite vigorous attempts by various Andalusi rulers and Moroccan movements like the Almoravids and Almohads to stem the tide. 'In those parts', one chronicler lamented, 'there was nothing the Muslims held that was not seized by the Franks because of the internal dissensions of the Muslims.'

By 1492, it was all over in al-Andalus when Boabdil, the last Muslim ruler of the kingdom of Granada, formally relinquished power and crossed over to Morocco. There, we are told, he spent some of his time building palaces in imitation of those in Spain.

In roughly the same timeframe, a similar process was at work on the island of Sicily, once a key province of the Fatimid caliphate based in North Africa. When the caliphs captured Egypt and made Cairo the centre of their realm, they effectively abandoned North Africa, including Sicily, to their underlings. While the caliphs in distant Cairo now looked to the east, Sicily saw itself divided among rival petty rulers or emirs, not

1. Fountain of Lions, Alhambra, Granada, Spain.

2. Ceiling paintings, Cappella Palatina, Palermo, Sicily.

unlike the *ta'ifa* kings of al-Andalus. And it was one of these emirs who apparently sought aid against his rival by looking to the Italian mainland. There, he hired bands of skilled Norman warriors recently arrived in Italy. In 1060, they dutifully assisted the emir against his rivals across the entirety of the island, but in the end, they would never leave. By 1090, the last Muslim lands in Sicily had surrendered and, under subsequent Norman and Hohenstaufen rulers, the island's Muslim populace wrestled with how to live life under infidel rule. But it did not last. Beginning in the 1220s and into the 1240s, Emperor Frederick II replaced his Muslim subjects on Sicily with Latin settlers, deporting them to a Muslim colony at Lucera on the Italian mainland. In 1300, Lucera was itself dismantled by the cash-strapped Angevin king, Charles II, who sold its population into slavery.

Finally, in the Near East, political fractiousness certainly played a central role in the success of the First Crusade, which, had the situation been different, should have ended as it began. Anatolia, modern Turkey, was known as 'Rum' in Arabic because of Anatolia's long association in Islamic history as an active frontier against the eastern 'Romans' of Byzantium. There, confederations of Turkish tribes controlled the towns and countryside. The most significant of these was the sultanate of the Seljuks of Rum who were themselves an offshoot of the Great Seljuk sultanate proper that held power in Iran and Iraq. The Seljuks of Rum, based at Nicaea, had their most vexing rival in their neighbours, the Danishmendid state in the north-east. It would thus be the Rum Seljuk ruler Kilij Arslan who would be the first to confront the First Crusade when it crossed from Constantinople in August 1096, and it would be distractions from the Danishmendids that kept him from decisively ending the whole affair at Nicaea in April 1097.

3. Seljuk tile with sphinx.

In Syria, in the wake of a major triumph over the Byzantines at Manzikert in Armenia in 1071, the Great Seljuk sultans had redoubled their efforts. Sultan Malikshah received the final surrender of Aleppo and Northern Syria in 1086 but he died in 1092, and Syria slipped from the firm grasp of the sultans in Iraq. Instead, Seljuk princes and favourites ruled the cities of the region, a frontier province, after all, and they were assisted sometimes by high-ranking emirs knowns as *atabegs* who advised them or, at times, toppled them and ruled in their stead. The Seljuks were ardent Sunni Muslims and saw themselves as servants of the Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad, who, though politically quiescent, held great symbolic authority as kinsmen of the Prophet. With the sanction of the Abbasid caliphs, then, Seljuk successes re-energized Sunni scholarship throughout their domains, and focused their attention on Shiʿite populations, whom they viewed as heretics, both inside the sultanate and in the new Shiʿite superpower in the region: the Fatimid caliphate.

The Fatimids had founded Cairo in 969 and made Egypt the centrepiece of a large, powerful, and very rich empire that linked the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, and Egypt to Syria and Palestine. The Fatimid state was a Shiʿite state and its caliphs were also Shiʿite religious guides or imams, and so provided living guidance as religious leaders of the faithful. But in 1094, the Fatimid caliph-imam died and his court overlooked the claims of his elder son Nizar in favour of another son who gained the throne. Nizar

4. Fatimid carved ivory hunting scene.

gained a large following of dissenters who took up his cause against the Fatimid mainstream. Loathed by Sunnis and other Shi'ites alike, these Nizari Shi'ites took to remote and inaccessible outposts in the mountains of Lebanon, Syria, and Iran to avoid confrontation, and were dismissed by their neighbours as abstract esoterics ('Batinis') or drug-addled hashish users ('Hashishiyun')—whence the term 'assassin' in Frankish reportage.

Both Anatolia and Syria, then, were riven with political and sectarian fissures at the close of the eleventh century. Indeed, this was a zone divided between Byzantines and Muslims, Sunni and Shi'ites, whose frontier lay almost precisely along the line followed by the first Frankish assaults, from Nicaea to Jerusalem. In 1097, it became clear that Kilij Arslan and his Danishmendid rivals had failed to stop the Frankish advance. It was up to the opportunistic emirs and *atabegs* of Northern Syria, and the factionalized and overwhelmed armies of the Great Seljuks, to try to stem the tide as best they could. Edessa became the first Frankish state carved from Muslim territory, in 1098, followed in quick succession by Antioch, then Jerusalem, itself taken by the Fatimids from the Seljuks only months before. Tripoli, on the Syrian coast, fell only in 1109, just after al-Sulami first harangued his small audience on the complexities of holy war.

Early Responses

But it is one thing to conquer land, and another to hold it. The ultimate shape of the Frankish states in the Near East was not due simply to the good fortunes of Frankish armies, but also to the responses of Muslims who reconquered lands, denied further advances, and worked out various treaties and truces with the Franks, who were now seen as simply a new regional power among many. These earliest Muslim responses came from five main zones, each with their differing fortunes against this new regional challenge. The Great Seljuk sultan repeatedly sent massive, formally organized *jihad* campaigns of tens of thousands of men of the sort that al-Sulami longed for—but

to little practical effect. The Fatimid caliphs of Cairo, on the other hand, were much more concerned with retaining control of the strategically and economically vital coastal strip of the Levant, a concern that centred on their bridgehead of Ascalon and their shipyard at Tyre. Damascus, held by the Seljuk prince Duqaq and his *atabeg*, Tughtigin, sought to retain its agricultural hinterlands and fend off Frankish inroads into Central Syria. In Aleppo, the Seljuk prince Ridwan found himself pressed on all sides from Frankish Antioch and Edessa—not to mention his ambitious brother Duqaq in Damascus. Finally, various commanders and local leaders in Upper Mesopotamia—most prominently the Artuqids—fought the Franks to raise their stock in the minds of their Muslim neighbours. Thus, Il-Ghazi, the Artuqid lord of Mardin, and Tughtigin of Damascus became firm allies, planning a joint campaign against Antioch in 1119. But Il-Ghazi on his own cornered the lord of Antioch and his troops at a place the Franks came to call *ager sanguinis*, the Field of Blood, and crushed them, 'no man among them escaped to tell the tale', as one Muslim source put it.

Frankish Antioch survived, but the historic linkages between Mesopotamia and Syria only intensified in this period, a product of Seljuk policies as much as of geography. This connection culminated in 1128, when the populace of Aleppo, deprived of a governor, appealed to the *atabeg* of Mosul to protect them. This was ʿImad al-Din Zangi, whose Zangid dynasty continued as a major player in the region well after his death. As ruler of both Mosul and Aleppo, he spent much of his early days consolidating his authority in the region *vis-à-vis* his Muslim rivals, especially the Artuqids. It was not until the spring of 1130 that he had any lasting successes against the Franks. Even then, he was obliged to return to Mosul and Iraq to see to various threats there.

But in 1135, Zangi returned to Syria, beginning a period of startling raids against the Franks of Antioch and, importantly, the Muslim Burids of Damascus who now ruled that city after the death of Tughtigin. Zangi never took Damascus, but his efforts against the Franks produced lasting results. In 1136, he penetrated as far as the coast, looting Latakia; in the following year he invaded the county of Tripoli and captured its count, Pons, who was put to death. Afterward, he put the fortress of Barʿin near Homs under siege, and craftily negotiated its surrender before a Frankish relieving force could reach them. All this activity drew the attention of the Byzantines, who forced an alliance upon the Franks of Antioch. In 1138, the two Christian polities cooperated in a series of spring campaigns in the north. Aleppo and Shaizar both withstood the sieges placed around them, and an attack by the Danishmendids of Anatolia on the Byzantine rearguard caused the coalition to disperse and withdraw. Zangi now had a free hand in Syria. Thanks to a deft marriage alliance, his influence in Damascus was on the ascendant, and when in 1139 he set up a blockade around the city, the Muslim ruler there responded by opening negotiations with Fulk of Jerusalem, who agreed to a treaty. A few raids against the Franks in the region were enough to convince Zangi that his energies would be wasted there, so he returned to settle some affairs in Mosul and to set his sights on a more tempting target: the Frankish county of Edessa.

It was Zangi's Muslim rivals in Upper Mesopotamia, the Artuqids, who drew his immediate attention, and thereby drew Edessa into his orbit. In the summer of 1144, the Artuqid lord of Hisn Kaya on the Euphrates died, and his son negotiated a treaty with Joscelin of Edessa to ensure a smooth transition. But for Zangi in Mosul, this was a marriage of his enemies, Franks and Artuqids, that posed a clear threat. As it happens, Joscelin had left Edessa in the hands of a small garrison, having taken up residence in the more rustic town of Tall Bashir. Zangi also knew that Joscelin had recently broken with the prince of Antioch, Raymond of Poitiers, so help would not come from that quarter. And so, Zangi pounced.

Zangi assembled the various Turkman tribes of the region under his banner and urged them to his campaign, which he cast as a *jihad* against the Franks. The result was a massive army that surrounded the city. When a breach in the walls was finally made, on 24 December 1144, the Muslim troops poured in despite taking heavy casualties. The first city to fall to the Franks during the First Crusade was thus also the first to be taken back from them, and the Muslim armies exacted retribution and plunder that exceeded all accepted bounds. Zangi intervened to establish the rule of law once again, even lightening the tax load of its citizens. Once the city was secured, he redirected his troops to rebuilding the fortifications, to prevent any further Frankish attempts to take it. Zangi pressed on across the county, capturing Saruj and almost all the Frankish lands east of the Euphrates. Tall Bashir, to the west, remained in Frankish hands and served as Joscelin's Edessa-in-exile. Zangi's stunning success at Edessa galvanized Muslim opinion and support for continued military campaigns against the Franks. It also demanded a response from the Franks, one which would not be long in coming. Whether Zangi had anticipated any of this we will never know, as the old *atabeg* died soon after in September 1146, murdered in his sleep, by a servant, it is said, of Frankish origin.

Eastern Promise

After Zangi's death, his lands were divided among his sons, with one, Nur al-Din Mahmud, taking hold in Aleppo to continue his father's work of confronting the Franks. His first goal was Edessa, which needed to be reclaimed after Joscelin and a group of the city's populace attempted to seize power. When he learned that Nur al-Din was on the march, Joscelin abandoned his plans, not to mention his allies. Nur al-Din reclaimed Edessa and punished the citizenry for their disloyalty, sacking the city and absorbing it into the Zangid state. He could now turn to another bit of unfinished business: Damascus.

With Damascus, Nur al-Din continued his father's policy of involving himself in the city's internal affairs, even, in 1147, through a political alliance with its ruler Unur. This was brought on by a political crisis when a rebellious emir had invited the Franks of the kingdom of Jerusalem to invade the fertile district of the Hawran. Taking the field together in June, the armies of Aleppo and Damascus compelled the Franks to

5. Tomb of Nur al-Din in Damascus.

withdraw. This new relationship in Damascus raised the spectre in Frankish Jerusalem of a united Muslim front, and it was partly this fear that motivated the Franks to choose Damascus as their target during the Second Crusade, which had originally been preached as a reaction to the fall of Edessa. But the crusade failed at the walls of Damascus as the city's resistance remained firm, assisted by urban militias and regional auxiliaries. As for Nur al-Din, it was merely the *threat* of his involvement in the field at Damascus that finally convinced the Franks to face facts and, four days after they arrived, to abandon the siege. Aleppo and Damascus then campaigned together in the months afterward, with Raymond II of Tripoli even securing their aid against a rival of his. And at the battle of Inab in June 1149, Zangid troops from Mosul and Aleppo scored a very public victory against Raymond of Poitiers, prince of Antioch, which allowed Nur al-Din to force a truce from Antioch and recapture Apamea for good.

When Unur's successor, Abaq, renewed the city's treaty with Jerusalem it made Nur al-Din's job all the easier. By autumn of 1150, Nur al-Din had mopped up the last remnants of the county of Edessa, including the capture of Joscelin, so few could doubt his pre-eminence as a fighter of the Franks. Abaq, smeared as being soft on the infidels, agreed to recognize his authority and soon left Damascus for good. In April 1154, the city opened its gates to Nur al-Din, realizing in one stroke the old hope of Zangi and the fear of every Frankish state left in the region.

Even more than his father Zangi before him, Nur al-Din made skilful use of public displays to establish his credentials as a righteous and legitimate Muslim ruler. This meant highlighting his accomplishments as a *jihad* warrior, but also as a personally pious ascetic and a community-minded builder of charitable works. After all, although

he met the Franks many times in battle, he just as frequently resorted to tribute and treaties to consolidate his domains. And although he expended his treasure raising and supplying his seemingly relentless armies, he also endowed dozens of religious and charitable institutions, such as madrasas, mosques, sufi meetinghouses, hospitals, and relief for widows and orphans. He also cultivated his connection to the Sunni *ulema* of Syria—such as the theologian and historian Ibn ʿAsakir of Damascus—as much as he did with his leading commanders. In all these gestures, *jihad* against the Franks was but one plank in a larger platform promoting his pious kingship.

And for a new Sunni ruler craving legitimacy, the Franks were only one possible target. Eradicating the threat posed by Shiʿites, and the Fatimid caliphate of Cairo, whom most Sunnis viewed as errant heretics, had long been one of the goals of the Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad and the regimes that were tied to them. Nur al-Din was now able to act on this goal and, as it happened, the Franks had become entangled in Egypt, too. By the twelfth century, the Fatimid caliphate was long past its prime. In the 1160's, for example, two rival viziers competed with one another for recognition and, in the process, one of them cancelled the tribute Egypt had been paying to Jerusalem. Amalric, the new king of Jerusalem, responded by invading Egypt, and Nur al-Din saw his opening.

The next year, in 1164, he sent his trusted Kurdish commander, Shirkuh, at the head of a large expeditionary force to oust the Franks from Egypt and restore order. But Egypt's contending viziers would not go lightly: it took five years, several rounds of double-dealing, and three invasions of Egypt before Shirkuh and his troops had cleared the Franks out of the country and rid the Fatimids of their troublesome viziers—and had himself named to the position himself. It seemed like Shirkuh had saved the day, but it did not last. For he died shortly thereafter. His nephew, a minor Kurdish commander who had proved himself admirably enough in the campaign to take Egypt, replaced him as vizier. His name was Salah al-Din Yusuf, better known as Saladin. After consolidating his own personal power in Egypt, Saladin quickly saw to the final dismantling of the Fatimid regime by replacing key positions with his own men by the spring of 1171. In September of the same year, the last of the Fatimid caliphs obligingly died, meaning that Saladin—and his lord Nur al-Din—could now claim to have restored Egypt and all its wealth to the Sunni fold after more than 200 years.

In 1174, amidst indications of sedition on the part of his fortunate underling in Egypt, Nur al-Din took ill in Damascus and died. By then, Saladin had secured his power in Egypt, assembling his family, known as the Ayyubids, to assist him and expanding the size of his domains to include newly conquered lands in Nubia and Yemen. A few months later, Amalric followed Nur al-Din, and the oscillating military activity between Franks and Muslims in the region came to a halt as both Zangids and Frankish Jerusalem dealt with the issue of succession. For his part, Saladin did not hesitate to present himself as the only feasible protector of Nur al-Din's child heir and relocated his court to Damascus. From there, he spent the next twelve years putting all of Muslim Syria under his sway, sometimes against vicious opposition. But by 1186 all the major

cities of Syria, and even Mosul in Upper Mesopotamia, recognized his authority and he was now lord of a domain that stretched from the Nile to the Euphrates, from Mesopotamia to Yemen. With the aid of his fractious kinsmen and sons, Saladin had subdued his Muslim rivals in the region. Now he could turn to the Franks.

In 1186, Saladin sorely needed a victory against the Franks, if only to silence the growing chorus of Muslim critics who were concerned about how much of his time had been spent at war with his fellow Muslims. Reynald of Châtillon, erstwhile prince of Antioch and now lord of Karak in Transjordan, provided him with an ample pretext with provocative raids against Muslim pilgrims in the Red Sea and strikes against caravans crossing from Syria to Egypt, despite Saladin's temporary truce with Jerusalem. In March 1187, Saladin arrived at Karak to exact justice. By July, he was confronting the forces of the kingdom of Jerusalem in Galilee. Luring the Franks out of their base at Saffuriya, his army penned them in at the extinct volcanic crater called the Horns of Hattin amidst fire, smoke, and July's summer heat and decimated them. It was a disaster for the Franks and for the kingdom of Jerusalem in particular, opening the region to reconquest.

Saladin's chancery bruited news of the victory to his allies, and revelled in the destruction of their enemy, calling it 'a day of grace, on which the wolf and the vulture kept company'. It was said that the price of slaves plummeted as Frankish captives from Hattin flooded the market. Among those not taken captive was Reynald of Châtillon, who, along with others of the military orders, was seen as so irremediable an enemy that he was put to death on the spot. The relic of the True Cross was also captured, and later sent to Baghdad as a trophy for the caliph. As for Guy, he was captured and trotted out before the walls of Ascalon in the hopes that the city might surrender as ransom to him, but they would have nothing to do with the man. He spent the next year imprisoned in Damascus before Saladin chivalrously agreed to Queen Sibylla's request to have him released.

By the end of 1188, Saladin had recaptured most of the territory that the Franks had taken since their arrival in 1099, including, most famously, Jerusalem. In September 1187, Saladin and his army arrived at the Holy City and put it under siege. The Franks had prepared for this eventuality, but it only took a few days before the walls were breached. Finally, on 2 October, rather than celebrating the capture of the city in vengeful plunder, Saladin and his men kept to the terms of surrender that he had negotiated with Balian of Ibelin, who commanded the defence. These were the sorts of public gestures of righteous kingship that went far to establishing Saladin's reputation among his subjects. Ever with an eye to posterity, Saladin also made sure that this signal event was marked by vivid public spectacles, purging the city of its long association with the infidels by cleaning and purifying the al-Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock, establishing new religious endowments, and celebrating the communal prayer on the first Friday after the conquest, the first such service to be held in Jerusalem since it was captured in 1099.

In early 1189, Saladin rested up and dispersed his troops, planning to return to the region to see what could be gained at Antioch which, like Tyre and Tripoli, remained

unconquered, and, as it would happen, would be among the last cities ever to be taken back from the Franks. At this time, the sultan first heard the news of a new Frankish expedition that was setting out from Europe intent on avenging the loss of Jerusalem—the Third Crusade. Saladin stopped first to come to the aid of the Muslim garrison at Acre, which was under siege by the Franks. Saladin's countersiege kept him bogged down at Acre long enough that he was deprived of options. Once the better supplied and disciplined forces led by Philip Augustus of France and Richard I of England landed, Saladin begged for aid from Baghdad and even from the Almohad ruler of Morocco. None was forthcoming. Saladin nonetheless stood his ground. Most of June 1191 was spent in fighting and endless back and forth between Frankish forces and the Muslim troops within and without. But Saladin's efforts were not enough. On 12 July, the Franks stormed Acre and the Muslim commander inside negotiated the surrender. The sum to be paid was large enough that Saladin had trouble meeting the deadline—in response, a frustrated Richard had 3,000 of his prisoners executed, an act of barbarity that would not be forgotten by later generations.

Philip Augustus returned to France shortly after the fall of Acre. Richard, however, marched south with his men towards Jaffa. Saladin attempted to intercept them at Caesarea, but Richard managed to punch through the trap and encamp at Jaffa. From Jaffa, nearly a year of fruitless military and diplomatic feints convinced Richard that a stalemate had been reached, and Saladin could hardly disagree. In September 1192, Saladin formally agreed to the terms of a truce, to last three years and eight months: the Franks would hold the coast from Tyre to Jaffa; Saladin would retain Ascalon; and Christians and Muslims alike were to have free passage within Palestine. In early October, the crusading armies dispersed and Richard sailed from Acre for Europe.

6. View of medieval city of Acre.

Saladin eventually returned to Damascus, where he took ill again but never recovered. On 4 March 1193, he died, a mighty opponent to his Muslim rivals as much as to his Frankish enemies.

Saladin's Successors

At the death of Saladin in 1193, despite his careful plans for a succession, his family was divided in a succession struggle. By 1200, his brother al-ʿAdil had parlayed his role as a mediator into one of pre-eminence and was named sultan in Cairo. Similar struggles would bring his son al-Kamil, and al-Kamil's son al-Salih Ayyub into the same role in turn. All of these Ayyubid successors to Saladin had a different variety of Frankish challenges to contend with than did their predecessors. The early reconquests of Frankish lands by Zangi and Saladin in particular meant that the Ayyubids never had to face any serious threat from the greatly diminished Franks of the Near East. Frankish invasions from Europe, however, posed a genuine concern. As a result, the Ayyubids spent much of their energy on diplomacy, commerce, and fending off the crusades that finally did materialize and much less on retaking lands from the Frankish states.

Even as he secured himself as sultan in Egypt, al-ʿAdil established his external relations as best he could. With the Franks, the results were mixed. In 1197, troops sent by Emperor Henry VI captured Sidon, another Frankish force took Beirut, and others raided around Gaza. Muslim forces finally recaptured Jaffa, and the Ayyubids signed a truce with Acre. The so-called Fourth Crusade, preached in 1198, was intended to invade Ayyubid Egypt as Saladin's heirs bickered, but it famously never materialized on those shores, and al-ʿAdil was saved the trouble of having to repel it. His first decade or so of rule was indeed marked by minor victories and desultory diplomatic overtures more than anything else, and so when the fleet of the Fifth Crusade arrived at Damietta on the Nile Delta in May 1218, it might have been a moment for the sultan to redeem himself. Instead, on 31 August, he died.

Given the presence of a crusader occupying force in Egypt, al-ʿAdil's heir, his son al-Kamil, was spared the usual internecine successional battles and found most of his kinsmen ready to rally around him. For example, his brother the lord of Damascus threw in his weight behind him, even ordering the walls of Jerusalem to be prophylactically dismantled. Even though this act generated outbursts of lament and opposition among the pious, it was sound strategy and al-Kamil, reinforced with troops from Syria, was able to pound the Franks in the Delta with frequent raids, and sank ships in the Nile to hem Damietta in should the city fall. And fall it did in November 1219. There the Franks sat for over a year as they awaited reinforcements. They were not long in coming, flooding in from Latin Christendom, sending al-Kamil into despair. Al-Kamil even considered abandoning Egypt and Syria and retreating to Yemen, but he was dissuaded by his kinsmen. Instead, in July 1221, he confronted the Franks at Mansura, his newly built fortified settlement between Cairo and Damietta, to which Frankish forces were advancing under King John of Jerusalem.

He tried diplomacy first, offering generous territorial concessions—the city of Jerusalem included—in return for a thirty years' truce. John and the papal legate, Pelagius, were already divided over the course of the crusade, and they could find no common ground here either. In the end, matters tilted in Pelagius' favour, and the offer was rejected. A Frankish show of force might have been the next step, but the Nile floodwaters outmanoeuvred that human endeavour. The Muslim forces assisted by cutting the irrigation dykes and flooding the lands around the Frankish encampment. On 30 August, cut off from all dry land, the Franks abandoned the crusade and agreed to a revised truce, amounting in effect to nothing more than an eight-year ceasefire and the promised return of the relic of the True Cross.

A revised truce was also part of al-Kamil's arsenal in handling the Holy Roman emperor, Frederick II. Both Frederick and al-Kamil sought each other as powerful allies against their local rivals, and Frederick made great show of his fondness for Arabic and Islamic high culture. Al-Kamil, for his part, sought Frederick's military assistance and prestige in his rivalry with his brother in Syria, and so in 1226 he offered the emperor a truce along the same generous lines as that first offered to the crusaders at Damietta, then later renegotiated. The resultant treaty of Jaffa, signed in 1229, granted the Holy City of Jerusalem and other lands to Frederick, but Jerusalem was to remain unfortified and open to Muslim pilgrims. The loss of Jerusalem in this way riled al-Kamil's Muslim opponents, but it was a diplomatic victory: he had ceded lands of little importance, Jerusalem stood open to reconquest, and he had transformed the Holy Roman emperor into his ally. Jerusalem remained in Frankish hands, with one short interruption, for the next fifteen years, and the Ayyubids could focus on scoring smaller military victories against the Franks of the Near East without worrying about another invasion from Europe. For the moment.

Al-Kamil died in 1238, and was succeeded by his son, al-Salih Ayyub, who inherited not just his father's sultanate but also his rivalry with Damascus. During his bid for the sultanate, al-Salih Ayyub made alliances with bands of troops who originally hailed from Khwarizm in Iran and also recruited new men for his expanded standing army. He phased out older divisions of the Ayyubid army in Egypt and replaced them with his own corps of Mamluk*s*—formerly enslaved prisoners of war, mostly of Qipchaq origin. To contend against this powerful new sultan, the Ayyubids of Damascus negotiated a counteralliance with the Franks, offering them virtually all the lands that Saladin had reconquered, including Jerusalem. And so, in the summer of 1244, when the Ayyubids of Damascus moved towards Gaza, the battle lines were drawn: the Ayyubids of Damascus and their Frankish allies stood against the Ayyubids of Cairo under al-Salih Ayyub and his Mamluk and Khwarizmian allies. In July, the latter poured into Syria and Palestine from the north and plundered Jerusalem and its environs, and, by October, the two rival armies, with their allies in support, met in battle at al-Harbiyya (La Forbie). Al-Salih Ayyub soundly defeated his rival kinsmen and their Frankish allies, and many men among the Franks were lost. Indeed, for the Franks of the Near East, this was a military disaster second only to

Saladin's victory at Hattin, and opened up Frankish Syria and Palestine to further reconquests.

These events were more than enough to produce a new expedition from Latin Europe. This crusade, though richly funded and backed by the pious King Louis IX of France, seems not to have learned from the lessons of the past. Its similarities with the course of the Damietta crusade are tragicomically similar. In June 1249, the Franks took Damietta; the Ayyubids and their Mamluk troops made their forward base at Mansura. As with the earlier crusade, so now too the reigning sultan died, with al-Salih Ayyub succumbing to illness in November. This time, however, the Frankish invasion of Egypt did not unite the Ayyubid house around a new sultan; instead, it gave rise to an entirely new and formidable power: a sultanate not controlled by the Ayyubids, but by the Mamluks themselves.

But before that could happen, the Ayyubid succession needed to be settled and Louis' crusade needed to be neutralized. For the moment, the dead sultan's widow, Shajar al-Durr, kept the sultan's death secret until his heir could arrive on the scene. This was his son Turanshah, who was serving as governor in Upper Mesopotamia. His slow progress allowed various divisions in the Ayyubid army to come to the fore, and these were exacerbated when, in November 1249, the Franks decided to finally emerge from Damietta. The Ayyubid forces, bogged down in a protracted battle with the forces led by Louis himself, retreated to Mansura and waited for Turanshah to make his appearance. And so he did, with fresh troops, in February 1250. The Franks beat a hasty retreat to Damietta and, in the course of the fighting, Louis himself was captured and, later, ransomed. In April, Damietta surrendered, and, in May, the Franks took their leave of Egypt for good. In the meantime, Turanshah made the factionalism in the Ayyubid army even worse by attempting to replace his father's loyal men with his own, and so members of the old guard murdered him—a clumsy act of expedience witnessed by many of the Frankish prisoners. Shajar al-Durr, as ever, kept a tight rein on the whole affair, ruling as 'Queen of the Muslims' in her own right for a few months before marrying the Mamluk commander Aybak and ceding the throne to him.

Mamluks and Mongols

As it would happen, the Mamluk sultanate begun by Shajar al-Durr and Aybak would rule over Egypt and much of the Near East until 1517, and was the one state capable of ending Frankish rule in the Levant for good. The early years of the sultanate, however, were rocked by challenges from rival Mamluk factions and surviving Ayyubid households in Syria and Egypt. To make matters worse, after their sacking of Baghdad in 1258, the Mongols loomed on Syria's borders. In the face of this threat, two rival factions, one led by the reigning sultan, Qutuz, and one led by the formerly exiled commander, Baybars, put aside their differences to defend the new regime. The situation was indeed very grim. In 1260, the Mongols under Khan Hülegü crossed the Euphrates and captured Aleppo. Damascus itself fell quickly to the Mongols.

7. Hülegü Khan leads his army.

The Frankish leadership in the Near East took differing stances on the Mongols. Bohemond VI of Antioch, for example, threw in his lot with the Mongols. The Frankish leaders in Acre were more circumspect, having observed Mongol attitudes towards their allies and enemies over the past two decades of Mongol expansion into Anatolia and Iraq. They remained aloof if concerned, as Mongol raiding parties attacked Jerusalem and even threatened lands as far south as Gaza. But all parties were given a respite when Hülegü left Syria for China in the late spring of 1260, his brother the Great Khan having died and opened a succession dispute. Hülegü left behind his commander, Kitbugha, and a much-diminished army. At ʿAyn Jalut in Galilee, Qutuz and Baybars demolished the Mongol forces and their allies.

The Mongols would continue to threaten Mamluk domains even after the victory at ʿAyn Jalut until they formally signed a treaty in 1323. Qutuz, the reigning sultan in 1260, set about consolidating his power in Syria to prevent any sequels, rewarding those commanders and princes who had served him well in the campaign and punishing those who had supported the Mongols. Critically, he passed over his old rival Baybars, who took immediate offence. Their briefly shelved enmity now came again to the fore. Baybars arranged for Qutuz to be killed and had himself named as the new sultan in Cairo. With the Mongol invasion thwarted and his rivals eradicated, he could now turn to the less pressing matter of the Franks.

To tend to his Frankish problem, Baybars applied nearly constant pressure on them. Taken as a whole, the territory under the nominal sway of the Franks added up to a

strip of non-contiguous lands from Jaffa to Antioch, with a handful of castles further inland. The Franks themselves were divided into factions competing over the rump kingdom of Jerusalem (its capital relocated to Acre since Saladin's conquests). Templars and Hospitallers were jealous of each other's lands and status and Genoese and Venetian merchant communities vied with one another over the trade passing through Levantine ports. The Franks had thus themselves already completed the first half of Baybars's divide-and-conquer policy for him. Baybars's policy of conquest was to capture and regarrison inland castles to use as bases for further conquests, while at the same time demolishing the defences of coastal towns and drying up their supply lines lest they fall again into Frankish hands. His furious campaign in 1266 into Cilician Armenia was all part of the process of limiting Frankish options.

He saved his next great conquest for later that year. In May 1268, he encamped before the walls of Antioch, whose mighty defences were nevertheless no match for the sultan's siege engines. The city, so long a thorn in the side of the region's Muslim rulers, and the third of the four Frankish capitals in the region to fall, was opened to general plunder. The capture of Antioch also deprived the Franks of a viable base in Northern Syria, and they were cleared out of the region for good, with even the Templars abandoning their castles in the area. Ever willing to make the most of the glamour of *jihad*, Baybars also took the opportunity to hammer the nearby castles of the Nizari Shi'ite 'assassins'. In 1271, he was back in Syria again, taking the massive Hospitaller fortress of Hisn al-Akrad (Crac des Chevaliers). This was Baybars's last victory against the Franks. While returning from a campaign against the Mongols in 1277, he took ill in Damascus and died. His deeds against Mongols and the Franks garnered him praise among most of the historians of the age and, perhaps more importantly, a kind of immortality in a series of oral epics that are performed even today.

Baybars's successor Qalawun took power after a succession struggle in 1279. Like Baybars, he employed diplomacy and especially military action against the Franks. They were at this point clinging to a small strip of Syria's coast, and only Tripoli remained of the original Frankish capital cities. Tripoli's last lord, Bohemond VII, had died in 1287. Power in the interim was divided between various factions of Frankish

8. Coin of Mamluk Sultan Baybars.

nobles, and Genoese and Venetian merchant communes. When it seemed like the Genoese were gaining the upper hand, the Venetians contacted Qalawun and begged him to come to their aid. He was only too happy to oblige, appearing before Tripoli in March 1289 and subjecting it to a cruel month-long siege. As the siege looked ready to succeed, the Italians all took ship and in April the city fell. Qalawun's men were ruthless in plundering the city and capturing or extirpating those of its inhabitants who could not flee. The bones of the lord Bohemond VII were exhumed and scattered. Only Acre now remained, a placeholder for the already crumbling Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem.

Acre's time came in August 1290. Although Qalawun had earlier made a truce with the city, a riot in which a number of Muslims were killed provided him with a pretext to punish the Franks. He called for *jihad*, requisitioned fearsome siege equipment, and assembled an army of Syrian and Egyptian troops. Then, as fate would have it, he died. But, for the Franks, it was only a brief respite. The elderly sultan's son al-Ashraf Khalil succeeded easily and continued his father's campaign. A *jihad* campaign of this nature, coming upon the heels of a sultan's death, found a ready audience, and it was said that last-minute volunteers from Syria and elsewhere outnumbered the regular troops accompanying the sultan. When the Muslim forces arrived at Acre on 6 April, the city was well defended, supplemented by a contingent from Cyprus as well as from the Hospitallers and Templars. Frankish ships bearing mangonels hovered offshore to bombard those encamped on the coast. But al-Ashraf and his troops never paused in their own siegecraft and eventually a breach was made in the inner walls of the city. On 18 May 1291 a massive final offensive brought thousands of Muslim soldiers pouring into the city, securing the surrender of townspeople as they went, while others took to plundering. The dismantling of Acre's remaining defences took place almost immediately.

In the wake of al-Ashraf's victory at Acre, the Franks remaining in the Near East—in Sidon, Beirut, and Tyre—readily surrendered. When al-Ashraf returned to Damascus, the city was decorated and illuminated. The troops paraded Frankish captives before them and people from miles around came to observe the spectacle. Similar festivities awaited the sultan upon his return to Cairo, where his first order of business was to visit the tomb of his father Qalawun, an acknowledgement perhaps that he had merely completed a process begun by his father, and others from so many generations before him.

Still the Muslims' Frankish problem lingered. For the Mamluks, the primary concern now was Frankish Cyprus, where the Lusignan ruling family of Jerusalem had long ago fled and ruled in exile. After 1291, this was the Franks' closest possession in the Eastern Mediterranean. But decades of cooler heads on Cyprus and in Cairo could see that their mutual good fortune rested upon the predictable and peaceful flow of commerce to and from the Muslim Levant and, above all, Alexandria. However, in the 1360s, King Peter I of Cyprus took a more aggressive stance. In October 1365, he assembled a coalition fleet off Rhodes. The Muslim governor in Alexandria caught wind of this and

alerted the sultan, but no response came. And so when this Frankish fleet sailed into Alexandria's harbour, there was little to prevent the mayhem. The Cypriot forces occupied the city and sacked it. Soon, news arrived of an army from Cairo on its way to restore order, so after eight days the Franks collected their loot and captives and left for Cyprus. It was over almost as soon as it began.

Cypriot raids on Muslim ports in Syria continued to vex the Mamluks even after Peter I's death. By the fifteenth century, the sultans could no longer endure these harassing attacks on commerce and travel. And so, in 1426, the sultan Barsbay launched a full-scale invasion of the island. The sultan defeated the Cypriot army and also a Frankish fleet that was assisting, and the expedition returned to Cairo in triumph. King Janus was led in chains and his Cypriot kingdom became tributary to the sultans of Cairo. But soon, in 1517, even the Mamluks would fall victim to an entirely new foe: the Muslim empire of the Ottoman Turks.

New Frontiers

The Ottoman Empire was founded in the early fourteenth century by a Turkish warlord named Osman, who led a nomadic tribal confederation out of the ashes of formerly Seljuk lands in Western Anatolia and created a small state or *beylik* that would become one of the last great land-based empires in history, stretching across three continents. Given the geography of Osman's *beylik*, *jihad* against the Christian Byzantine Empire and its allies formed an important path to legitimating his authority over his followers, who, like him, considered themselves *ghazis*, or frontier fighters against the enemies of Islam.

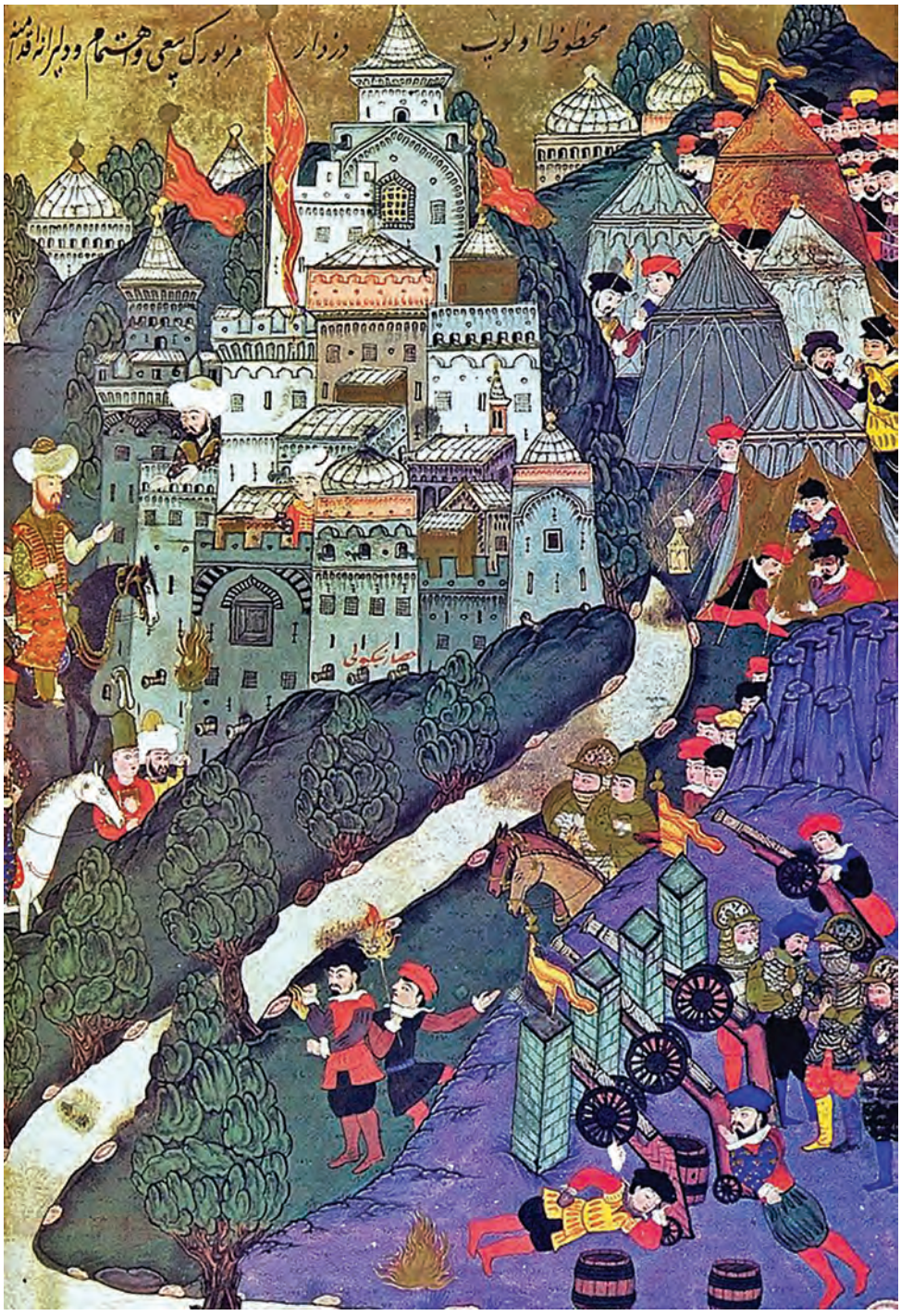
When Osman died in 1324, his son Orhan led the dynasty to even more distant frontiers—across the Straits to Thrace and further into Europe. The Ottomans were aided in this by divisions among the Byzantines. In 1352, for example, a civil war broke out between rival Byzantine princes, which put John V Palaiologos on the Byzantine throne, and his family would continue to rule until the fall of Constantinople in 1453. But although the Ottomans had chosen poorly and backed the incumbent prince, they took the opportunity to occupy much of Thrace, and even captured the important crossing point of Gallipoli. When Orhan himself died in 1362 and his son Murad took over, the Ottoman state he inherited now spanned the Straits and expansion westward into Europe seemed a natural step—so long as Ottoman rivals back in Anatolia remained quiet. Murad's reign coincided with the rise of the kingdom of Hungary under the Angevin king, Louis, who, with papal backing, took to portraying himself as the defender of Latin Christendom against this new Ottoman menace. Added to this mix were the Orthodox lands of Bulgaria in the north and the Serbs in the west, not to mention the Italian merchant empires, all of which gave the Ottomans ample opportunities to gain vassals and pit rivals against one another.

By 1383, Murad's Anatolian frontier in the east was secure enough that he could safely cross the Straits with an army, making his headquarters at Adrianople. From

there, the Ottomans raided Serbia, where the prince, Lazar, surrendered and agreed to send tribute and troops to fight for the sultan. However, Lazar later broke his agreement with Murad and renounced his allegiance. Other local vassals, including the rulers of Bulgaria and Bosnia, followed suit. And so, on 15 June 1389, supported by Christian and Muslim contingents, Murad's army confronted Lazar and his allies at Kosovo Field to punish them. The Ottomans made short work of them, but the outcome was a tragedy: both Lazar and Murad were killed in the fighting. Murad's son, Bayezid, was on the battlefield that day and assumed power immediately, taking time to quiet dissent on his eastern frontier. But by 1395 all of Bulgaria had been taken and Wallachia became a tributary province. Bayezid began establishing garrisons at fortresses along the Danube and Sigismund, the king of Hungary, knew what would come next. He called on the papacy for help. In 1396, the crusade arrived but was pinioned by Ottoman forces at Nicopolis on the lower Danube. With high casualties and a humiliating retreat behind him, Sigismund formally negotiated his surrender. Bayezid took the momentum from Nicopolis to maintain pressure on Wallachia, but Hungary and the rest of Eastern Europe was saved for the moment from an unexpected quarter: the Central Asian warlord, Timur (Tamerlane), had invaded Ottoman lands in the east. In 1402, Bayezid had returned to Anatolia to defend his empire and had met Timur in battle at Ankara, where, in a catastrophe, the Ottomans were routed and Bayezid himself was taken captive and died a few months later. The empire fell into civil war between the various claimants to Bayezid's throne.

After nearly two decades of conflict, Murad II, one of Bayezid's grandsons, emerged as the more or less undisputed sultan. With his eastern frontier quiet, Murad could focus instead on the Christian powers to his west. These were, principally, Byzantium, Venice, and Hungary. Murad applied almost constant pressure on his western marches, conducting naval raids in the Aegean and overland, capturing Thessalonica in 1430 and raiding across the Balkans into Albania and annexing northern Serbia outright. His campaigns against Hungary were not so easy. In 1440, his siege of Belgrade, the vital gateway to central Europe, failed, and a Hungarian advance across the Balkans was stopped at the Zlatitsa Pass in the winter of 1443, but it was hardly a glorious Ottoman victory so much as a retreat on both sides. Murad signed a ten-year truce with Vladislav of Hungary and took this respite to cede the throne to his young son Mehmed.

But in 1444 an emboldened crusade, led by Vladislav, whom the pope had absolved of his oath of truce, caused the elder sultan to be called out of retirement. The Frankish coalition was making for Varna on the Black Sea coast to coordinate with a fleet of Byzantine, Venetian, and Burgundian ships. The Ottomans Balkan capital at Adrianople was evacuated. With help from the Genoese, Murad thwarted the Frankish blockade, but the Christians took Varna. After a day of intense and bitter fighting and desertions, Murad, aided by his Janissary bodyguards and by the sudden death of Vladislav III, the king of Hungary and Poland, held firm and, once again, emerged triumphant. The real casualty at Varna, though, was Byzantium, which now found itself weakened and alone, hemmed in behind the walls Constantinople.



9. Ottoman miniature of the battle of Nicopolis.

In 1451, Murad died in Adrianople and his son Mehmed II succeeded him as planned. His activities against the enemies of the Ottomans, and against the Byzantines in particular, would win him the epithet of Fatih Sultan Mehmed, or 'Mehmed the Conqueror'. He set to work against Constantinople almost immediately, confirming his father's treaties in the Balkans and with Venice, settling disputes with local rulers on his eastern frontier in Anatolia, and tending to his cantankerous army. By early April 1453, Mehmed had surrounded the city and put it under siege. Mehmed's attempts to undermine the stout city walls failed at first and even his cannon had little immediate effect and so he employed a number of strategies to stretch the city's defences, including, at one point, dragging some seventy ships on rollers from the Bosporus to the inner harbours of the Golden Horn. It worked. In late May, the overstretched defences of Constantinople broke. As Mehmed's troops tore into the city, most of the defenders fled. Many died, trampled in the panic, including, it seems, Constantine XI, the last emperor. Once hostilities had ceased, Mehmed made a triumphal procession into the city and was ashamed at what he saw of the destruction and pillage. He and his bodyguard made their way to the much-neglected church of Hagia Sophia, where the sultan prostrated himself in gratitude towards God for granting him this victory, a goal of Muslim rulers foretold in prophecies since the age of the Prophet himself. Ottoman Istanbul would become the new capital of Mehmed and his successors and, at the close

10. Map of the world by al-Idrisi.

of the Middle Ages, the largest city in Europe, moving the tiny tribal principality of Turkish *ghazis* onto a truly global stage.

Living with the Enemy

Medieval Muslims had been familiar with the peoples of Europe well before the crusades, especially in areas such as al-Andalus and the Western Mediterranean where local commerce and conflicts ensured regular encounters between them. Although early Muslim observers were aware of the ethnic and regional distinctions that Western Europeans used, one of their labels, 'Franks' (*Firanj*), quickly became the name for all Latin Christians from the West, much as the Franks themselves referred to Muslims of every stripe simply as 'Saracens'. Firanja, the land of the Franks, was believed by some to be dark, cold, and bleak. As a result, and unlike the people of the sun-kissed and moderate climes of the Abode of Islam, the Franks in their view tended to be brutes, prone to religious fanaticism, sexually naive, and closer to beasts than humans. From the perspective of these Muslim observers, the Franks posed a double threat. After all, Muslims were perfectly familiar with Christians since the first moments of Islamic history, but the Christians of the Islamic world had agreed to be subjects of a Muslim ruler and, as such, Islamic law granted them the status of *dhimmi*s, a protected (if subjected) minority, and so they afforded no grave concern. Likewise, Muslims also had a long history with barbarians from the fringes of the world, like the Turks or Berbers, but these groups had converted, and became champions of Islamic civilization. But the benighted Franks were both Christians *and* barbarians, who refused the virtues of true religion and civilization with a kind of brazen stubbornness that bemused and frustrated their Muslim interlocutors.

Of course, amid all the stereotypes that our sources purveyed, there was also abundant eyewitness lore from which a different idea of the Franks and Frankish civilization might have been constructed. For example, Franks and Muslims were much more integrated commercially and economically than the unilateral ideologies of *jihad* and crusade liked to allow. As the Andalusi pilgrim Ibn Jubayr remarked of Saladin's Syria, but in terms equally applicable to Spain or Sicily, 'Though the fires of discord burn between the two parties…and two armies of them may meet and dispose themselves in battle array, yet Muslim and Christian travellers will come and go between them without interference.' These realties were aided by the fact that Muslim-Frankish exchange benefited from ties established well before the Frankish invasions, even as the conflicts that broke out forced some reorientation of commercial priorities, as the rise of Acre as a commercial hub after the Third Crusade shows us. From the beginning, local needs almost always outweighed the requirements of holy war. Moreover, commercial ties imply cultural ties of some kind, visible most famously in the commercial terms of Arabic origin that made their way into the various Frankish languages: *tariff* from *ta'rif*, a notification; cheque from *sakk*, a letter of credit, and so on. Arabic and Persian words illuminated Frankish vocabularies thanks to their appetite

11. Crusader coin with Arabic script.

for *artichokes*, *crimson*, *muslin*, *orange*, *syrup*, and *tamarind*, to name but a few. The Franks modelled their coins on Muslim specie, sometimes right down to the Arabic inscriptions. Not so Arabic: only the bizarre social terminology of Outremer seems to have been borrowed for lack of any equivalent, e.g. *biskund* (viscount), *burjasi* (burgess), and *sarjand* (sergeant). Most of the high cultural transmission of scientific or religious works went in the same direction, that is from Arabic (or Greek) into Latin, and fairly exclusively in Spain and Sicily rather than in the Near East. Given the poor impression that Frankish culture left on Muslims, this is perhaps not too surprising.

The situations of Muslims living under Frankish rule in Spain, Sicily, or the Near East varied greatly, being neither experiences of total oppression nor of some tolerant *convivencia*. The Frankish Near East, for example, was unique from other areas in being so isolated from the rest of Europe. Franks were always a minority there and so were far more dependent upon Muslim administrative models and know-how. But living under infidel rule posed problems for Muslims, including religious ones. For Muslims who were able, emigration from infidel lands ensured proper Islamic practice. But beyond refugees forced out or those Muslims who could emigrate, most Muslims were cultivators and craftsmen who had to stay put. For them, life under Frankish rule continued largely as it had under Muslim rule. Indeed, Ibn Jubayr even opined that the justice of Muslim landlords compared rather unfavourably to that of Frankish landholders, but then again he was just trying to rile up his readers. He later went on to depict Frankish lifeways as a tempting cultural threat to their Muslim neighbours, and the contemporary poet and diplomat Usama ibn Munqidh agreed, although he noted that Franks who had frequented the company of Muslims were at least tolerable, saying, 'They are much better than those recently arrived from their lands, but they are the exception and should not be considered representative.' And even centuries later, Muslim observers had little to say about any virtues of the Franks. But crusade and *jihad* do not provide a ready context for cultural understanding. The fact that medieval Muslims thought about 'Franks' and medieval Latin Christians thought about 'Saracens' in ways that, with few exceptions, changed little over five centuries of encounter is surely one of the more painful consequences of the wars of the cross.

Impact and Afterlife

For the medieval Arabic writers who mused on them, the events of the centuries-long, Mediterranean-wide encounter between Muslims and Franks that we call 'the crusades' was an opportunity to comment on the need for spiritual renewal, on just kingship, and the folly of sectarian and political disunity, among other things. For modern observers, the most important lesson is that there was no one, shared, experience of the crusades. It is a simple matter to find medieval Muslims in our literary sources who approached these Frankish invasions as a threat to Islam as a whole that demanded a militant response. It is not always as simple to find the diplomats, the collaborators, or the indifferent, who would have had rather different lessons to teach us. But they are there.

It is often maintained that the crusades did not really matter to Islamic history—they took place in a tiny frontier zone that was eventually won back, after all. But in reading our medieval sources, the sense of panic at the coming of the Franks, from Spain to Syria, is palpable. What's more, Islamic Sicily was snatched away forever; al-Andalus was lost for all time. If the Frankish adventures in North Africa and the Levant were admittedly ill-advised and ephemeral mistakes, the broader encounter with the Franks nevertheless permanently changed the posture of the Islamic world towards Christendom. Moreover, although eastern Christians living under Muslim rule could face suspicion and reprisals as a response to the Frankish threat, stereotypes about the failings of Christianity and the barbarity of the Franks pre-dated the crusades by centuries and, indeed, seem not to have changed much as a result of the encounter. Nor do medieval Muslims appear to have become any more 'militant' as a result of the Frankish threat than they were before, as rigorist movements of reform also long pre-dated the involvement of the Franks. Indeed, such movements were directed at replacing failing Muslim rulers and not specifically at driving the Franks into the sea. However, the crusades did have a lasting effect on Muslim state formation. From Iberia to Iraq, the duty to conduct *jihad* against the Franks provided a *raison d'être* for ambitious military commanders like Saladin, and granted longevity to the dynasties they established that they might not otherwise have earned.

It is also often maintained today that the crusades really did not matter to Muslims after the Middle Ages until they were 'rediscovered' or interest was inherited thanks to the translations of European scholarly works in the nineteenth century. But memory abides in many ways, and it is clear from the continued copying and circulation of medieval Arabic chronicles, in the retelling of folk epics about Baybars in public venues, in Ottoman panegyrics that made comparisons to the conquerors of old, and in the silent yet significant presence of castles, towns, and ruins linked to the Franks that the crusades did live on in Muslim historical memory without the assistance of European scholars. Indeed, what some contemporary Muslims have inherited most directly from Europeans about the crusades is rather the toxic linking of crusading imagery to modern nationalism, providing a medieval vocabulary to justify modern conflicts that even men like al-Sulami would lament.

12. Modern statue of Saladin in Damascus.

CHAPTER 9

The Byzantine Response

JONATHAN HARRIS

In the middle of the eleventh century, the Byzantine Empire, also known as Byzantium, included most of the Balkans, along with part of Southern Italy and the islands of Crete and Cyprus, and in the east, Anatolia and much of Armenia. In spite of incorporating some areas that are predominantly Muslim today, this was a Christian society. Its capital Constantinople (modern Istanbul) boasted 294 churches and 300 monasteries and convents as well as the largest cathedral in the world, the Holy Wisdom or Hagia Sophia. So the Byzantine emperors and their people might have been expected to have been enthusiastic participants in crusades to the Holy Land. But they were not.

The lack of enthusiasm arose from certain differences of culture and outlook between the Christians of Byzantium and those of Western Europe, particularly in the areas of language, religious authority and belief, political ideology, and attitudes to warfare. To take the first, in medieval Western Europe, Latin was the predominant language of the Church and administration. In the Byzantine Empire it was Greek. The liturgy recited in its churches was in a version close to that of the New Testament. The bureaucrats in the palace were schooled in the classical language while on the streets of Constantinople people spoke something approaching modern Greek. The Byzantines were acutely aware of this linguistic divide and marked it by referring to all Western Europeans as 'Latins', regardless of whether they were from the Iberian peninsula, Saxony, or Scandinavia.

As regards religious authority and belief, during the eleventh century the pope came to occupy an increasingly dominant position as the head of the western Catholic Church as a result of the papal reform movement. In Byzantium, while the pope was recognized as having a unique position of honour as the successor of St Peter, his authority over the whole Church was not accepted. Byzantine theologians also looked askance at the Latin version of the Creed with its inclusion of the word *filioque* ('and from the son'), a departure from the original wording. These differences had led to a quarrel in the summer of 1054, when some papal legates had excommunicated the patriarch of Constantinople thus putting the Churches into a state of schism.

There was also an east-west divide in terms of political ideology. In the west, one of the prerogatives of the pope was to elevate a king to the rank of Roman emperor by crowning him. They had conferred this honour on the king of the Franks, Charlemagne, in 800 and, in the middle of the eleventh century, the current incumbent was the ruler of Germany. The Byzantines did not recognize the title and insisted that their ruler was the only true emperor. That claim arose from the origins of their state which was the remnant of the old Roman Empire. Rome itself and the western provinces had succumbed to invasion by Germanic tribes during the fifth century CE but the emperors who continued to reign in Constantinople were the direct successors of the caesars. This Roman link was more than mere nostalgia: it dictated a particular view of the world. The Byzantines regarded it as no accident that the reign of the first emperor, Augustus, had coincided with the birth of the saviour of the world, Jesus Christ. Both events were evidently part of God's plan for the salvation of mankind. Just as the souls of believers were to be saved through faith in Christ, so their welfare on earth was to be provided for through the one universal state, ruled by the Roman emperor. That meant that the Byzantine emperor was seen not just as one potentate among many but as a ruler of unique spiritual significance.

Finally, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the papacy took the lead in developing the idea of holy war. Participation in conflict with 'infidels' to defend Christendom was declared not only to be justified but positively meritorious and it attracted a spiritual reward, usually immediate entry into paradise. The Byzantines never went down that route. They had been waging war on their Muslim neighbours for many centuries before the First Crusade, initially on the defensive against the tide of Arab expansion and after 900 on the offensive, culminating in the reconquest of Antioch in 969. During this long period of conflict, there were times when the rhetoric of holy war can be discerned but the great difference between Byzantium and the west was that its Church hierarchy never involved itself in preaching and promoting warfare against non-Christians and was very reluctant to offer a spiritual reward. In around 965, a Byzantine emperor did try to persuade the patriarch of Constantinople to declare that all soldiers who died fighting the infidel would be martyrs whose entry into paradise would be assured. He met with a resolute refusal. While fighting in defence of one's homeland was a justifiable necessity, killing was still a sin to be repented of, not a virtuous deed to be rewarded.

It was these differences in outlook and ideology that explain Byzantium's ambivalent attitudes to western crusades. This was not a 'clash of cultures'. There was no generalized hostility between Byzantines and Latins until the late twelfth century. The term 'Latins' was not necessarily one of abuse: it simply recognized a major difference between two groups of co-religionists. The schism and the disagreement over political ideology were both largely theoretical and the two halves of Christendom generally interacted perfectly amicably. But the divergence in language, belief, and ideology did mean that the Byzantine emperors and their advisers were following a different set of values in their dealings with the world around them. They took a rather more

1. Emperor Heraclius receiving the submission of the king of Persia, plaque from a cross, Champlevé enamel over gilt copper, France, 1160–70 (Louvre).

2. The Cathedral of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Istanbul).

pragmatic approach to their Muslim enemies, as happy to obtain their goals through negotiation as through war. The holy city of Jerusalem is a case in point. Like the Christians of the west, the Byzantines held it in great reverence as the site of the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ. In 975, during a foray into Syria, a Byzantine

emperor wrote to the king of Armenia to assure him that he was 'intent on delivering the Holy Sepulchre of Christ our God from the bondage of the Muslims'. But he soon withdrew without attempting to take it. Instead, Jerusalem featured in a treaty made in 1027 with the Fatimid caliph of Egypt who controlled the city at that time. The caliph gave the emperor the right to rebuild the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and to appoint the patriarch of Jerusalem. This was an important concession for the Byzantines because it enabled the emperor to fulfil his role of protector of Christians by caring for the most sacred site of all. Equally instructive is the concession that the Byzantines made in return. The caliph was allowed to control the mosque in Constantinople, which existed for the use of Arab merchants visiting the city. The mosque would have its own Egyptian *muezzin* and Friday prayers there would be said in the name of the Shi'ite Fatimid caliph, rather than his Sunni Abbasid rival in Baghdad. So here, religious confrontation was set aside in favour of both rulers receiving a concession that would enhance their prestige within their own spheres. It was actions and policies like that which opened up a gap in expectations between Byzantium and the crusades.

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In the middle of the eleventh century, Byzantium entered a period of crisis during which its territories were attacked from three directions and its borders were pushed back dramatically. The Balkans were invaded by a Turkic steppe tribe known as the Pechenegs while the Normans slowly but surely eroded the westernmost provinces in Southern Italy. In the east, Seljuk Turks raided into Byzantine Armenia and Anatolia. It was an attempt to deal with this latter threat that led to disaster. In August 1071, a large army under the personal command of Emperor Romanos IV clashed with that of the Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan near the town of Manzikert. The Turks won a resounding victory, scattering the Byzantine force and capturing the emperor. In the confusion and dislocation of the years that followed the defeat, the Byzantines lost control of Armenia and most of Anatolia and various opportunist groups moved in to fill the vacuum. In Cilicia, the south-eastern coastal area of Anatolia, an Armenian principality emerged. Other areas were taken over by Turkish warlords, acting outside the authority of the Seljuk sultan. The area around Sebasteia fell to Danishmend and his followers, while Smyrna, on the Aegean coast, was taken by a band led by Chaka. Another group pushed westwards under the leadership of Suleyman ibn Kutulmush. By 1078, Suleyman was in possession of the city of Nicaea, only 100 kilometres from Constantinople itself, and in 1084 he took over Antioch.

In this critical situation the Byzantine emperors looked to the time-honoured axiom of their foreign policy that when danger threatened neighbouring peoples could be offered money to induce them to attack the primary enemy. So they cultivated another Turkic steppe tribe, the Cumans, with a view to using them against the Pechenegs and kept on good terms with the Fatimids as opponents of the Seljuks. Perhaps surprisingly the potential ally that they cultivated most assiduously was not a king or warlord but a clergyman: the pope in Rome. There were two good reasons for doing so. The pope

was the ruler of the papal states that lay to the north of the Byzantine holdings in Southern Italy, so he was as apprehensive about Norman expansion as the emperor was. Second, the Byzantines knew that the pope wielded immense moral influence throughout Western Europe. They may well have hoped that he would use that influence to encourage Christian knights to head east and join the emperor's army in the fight against the Pechenegs and Turks.

To start with, Byzantine embassies to Rome sought an alliance against the Normans but after 1071, when the Norman conquest of Southern Italy was completed, it was the eastern enemies against whom the pope's help was sought. In 1073, when Emperor Michael VII contacted Pope Gregory VII he outlined the situation in Anatolia where Byzantine rule was rapidly evaporating in the aftermath of Manzikert and urged the resolution of the schism between the Churches as this rift would have to be healed before the pope was likely to urge Christians to go to the aid of Constantinople. Gregory VII received the appeal sympathetically and in March 1074 he sent out a letter to be circulated throughout Western Europe urging nobles and knights to travel east to lend their assistance to the Byzantine emperor. A few months later, he even confided to the German Emperor Henry IV that he was hoping to lead an expedition himself and that it would march not only to Constantinople but even to Jerusalem.

3. Emperor Michael VII, cloisonné enamel plaque on the Khakhuli Triptych.

Nothing came of all this. The following year Gregory fell out with Henry IV over the issue of investiture of bishops, a conflict that was to result in the pope having to flee Rome in 1084, meaning the planned expedition to the east was forgotten. The attempt to mend the schism abruptly ended when Michael VII was overthrown in 1078. Gregory excommunicated his successor, deepening the rift still further. Nevertheless, the 1073–4 negotiations were extremely significant, especially Gregory's claim that he intended to march as far as Jerusalem. This may have been something that he himself decided to add in: if the Christian Byzantine Empire was to be defended against the infidel then why stop there? Why not continue to liberate the Holy Sepulchre and place it once more under Christian rule? On the other hand, mention of Jerusalem may have been made in Michael VII's original letter. His appeal would almost certainly have laid stress on Christian solidarity against invading infidels and quite probably have suggested that fighting for Byzantium would be a praiseworthy act. Mention of Jerusalem might have been made to enhance the message, secure in the knowledge that few in the west would have known how far it was from Constantinople. At the end of the day, no one will ever know one way or another but if the Byzantine emperor was dangling Jerusalem as an additional incentive to head east, it would help to explain what happened next.

In April 1081, an ambitious general called Alexios Komnenos seized Constantinople and had himself crowned emperor as Alexios I. The state he took over was on the verge of collapse. Not only had Southern Italy and most of Anatolia been lost but the Balkans were now being threatened by the Pechenegs. To make matters worse, the Normans under their leaders Robert Guiscard and Bohemond were threatening to invade across the Adriatic. By now the pope had abandoned his opposition to them and looked to them as allies against the German emperor and he even endorsed their planned attack. The subsequent war with the Normans began badly with a catastrophic Byzantine defeat at Dyrrachion in October 1081. Thereafter, Emperor Alexios fought back doggedly and slowly the Norman invasion lost momentum. Robert Guiscard had to return to Italy to assist Gregory VII against the German emperor and in 1083 Alexios defeated Bohemond at Larissa. During 1085 the Normans withdrew. Alexios then turned on the Pechenegs, again suffering an initial defeat but then recovering to achieve a spectacular victory at Mount Levounion in the spring of 1091 which ended the threat to the Balkans.

Even before the final victory over the Pechenegs, it is likely that Alexios was considering the recovery of Anatolia and that would explain his renewed overtures to the pope. Gregory VII had died in exile at Salerno and one of his successors, Urban II, still hard pressed by the forces of the German emperor, was very receptive to improving relations with Constantinople. One of his first acts as pope in 1089 was to lift Gregory VII's excommunication of Alexios and to request in return that Latin Christians be allowed to reopen their churches in Constantinople. Alexios responded by gathering a synod in Constantinople to consider ways of restoring amity between the eastern and western Churches.

4. Emperor Alexios I, his wife Irene, and their son, the future John II from the Barberini Psalter.

The next step was for Alexios to send an embassy to Urban who had convened a synod at the town of Piacenza in Lombardy in the spring of 1095. As in the case of Michael VII's 1073 approach, the original letter carried by the envoys does not survive. We only have brief summaries of it from two Latin chronicles which describe how he lamented the perilous situation in Anatolia where infidel forces had advanced almost to the walls of Constantinople. He begged the pope to urge western knights to come to his aid. Further information comes from a thirteenth-century Byzantine Greek chronicle, attributed to Theodore Skoutariotes, which suggests that Alexios took advantage

of the reverence that he knew western Christians felt towards Jerusalem by alluding to the holy city as an incentive for them to come east. The evidence is late and rather tenuous but it does link to the possibility that Michael VII had earlier done the same thing in his approach of 1073.

But even if Alexios did dangle Jerusalem in his appeal, that is a far cry from his being responsible for a large-scale expedition that became the First Crusade. That was sparked by Urban II in the sermon that he preached at Clermont in November 1095. There he did the very thing that the Byzantine emperor could not: he offered a spiritual reward to participants, promising them 'the remission of your sins, with the assurance of the imperishable glory of the kingdom of heaven'. It was that which gave the proposed expedition its allure and prompted thousands of volunteers to come forward. Urban also made Jerusalem the ultimate goal of the crusade rather than some kind of additional inducement to bring help to Constantinople. So, crucially, from the very beginning there was a discrepancy between what the Byzantines thought the expedition was for and the outlook of the participants.

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We are fortunate in having a detailed account of the First Crusade from the Byzantine side. It is part of the *Alexiad*, a laudatory biography of Alexios I written by his daughter, Anna Komnene (or Comnena). Born in 1083, she was a child when the First Crusade arrived at Constantinople and she was writing a long time afterwards, in the 1140s. So the accuracy of her account has been called into question. It has been seen as political propaganda, designed to extol the memory of Alexios at the expense of his successors, John II and Manuel I, and as a literary exercise that shoehorns contemporary events into a Homeric mould. There can be no doubt that Komnene's version of events is coloured by political bias, hindsight, and literary convention. On the other hand, it also provides an intriguing insight into how the Byzantines saw the crusaders and the gulf that existed between them from the very beginning. Interestingly, she makes no reference to the religious difference, presenting the crusaders simply as fellow Christians. In contrast, she was acutely aware of the linguistic divide. She complained that the names of the leaders sounded harsh and were completely unpronounceable, making her reluctant to spoil her Greek prose by including them. She recorded Alexios' reliance on a translator when a crusader made a derogatory remark about him. She noted the divide in political ideology, lamenting that the pope did not realize that the only Roman emperor was the one in Constantinople. Western attitudes to warfare also struck her: she was shocked to hear that a priest had participated in a battle. So Komnene's account is very illuminating when it comes to the gap in expectations between Alexios I and the leaders of the First Crusade.

Komnene presents the arrival of the expedition as a complete surprise to Alexios. She makes no mention of any prior negotiation with the pope or of any use of Jerusalem to lure western knights eastwards. She has been accused of hiding her father's earlier efforts but it could equally be the case that she knew nothing about

them. The tentacles of Byzantine diplomacy reached everywhere and the details of one particular routine embassy might not have reached her. The chances are that Alexios had no idea that his appeal to the pope would spark off such a response, even if he had made mention of Jerusalem.

That becomes apparent in the wary manner in which the crusade armies were received once they entered Byzantine territory, as described both by Komnene and the Latin accounts. Leaders such as Raymond of Toulouse and Bohemond of Taranto might consider themselves warriors for Christ on their way to liberate the Holy Sepulchre but to the Byzantines these large forces under their own leaders represented a potential threat. After all, it was only twelve years previously that Bohemond had participated in the Norman invasion of the Byzantine western provinces. The armies were closely shadowed by Byzantine forces as they approached Constantinople and messengers plying between their leaders were intercepted to stop them from joining up. One of the leaders, Hugh of Vermandois, who thanks to a storm scattering his fleet landed on Byzantium's Adriatic coast almost alone, was sent under guard to Constantinople. No wonder that one participant, Raymond of Aguilers, complained that when he and his companions crossed into land under the emperor's control, it was like entering enemy territory.

The gap in expectations widened when the armies reached Constantinople and the leaders were presented with a demand that they swear an oath to the Byzantine emperor and promise to return to him any cities that they conquered which had

5. The Land Walls of Constantinople.

formerly been part of his territory. From the Byzantine point of view this was a practical and reasonable request but some of the leaders were very reluctant. Raymond of Toulouse protested that he had not come all that way to make another his lord or to fight for any other than Christ. They did in the end all give some kind of undertaking but the incident highlighted the gulf between the emperor's aim to recover lost territory in Anatolia and the crusade's goal of Jerusalem. After the oaths, the leaders invited Alexios to accompany them to the holy city but he politely declined, pleading that there were too many threats to Constantinople for him to absent himself at this juncture.

The emperor's image as a lukewarm holy warrior was cemented by his conduct during the siege of Nicaea in early summer of 1097, the expedition's first objective in Anatolia. While the crusaders threw themselves energetically into the siege, Alexios negotiated with the Turkish garrison and secured their surrender, even offering them the choice between safe conduct to Turkish territory or taking service in his own army. The crusaders were compensated for the loss of the opportunity to plunder the city with generous gifts but, as one participant wrote in a letter, while some crusaders were grateful, others were not. When the army set out on the next leg of its journey, it was accompanied only by a token Byzantine force.

Alexios was not idle as the First Crusade moved on. He took advantage of the disarray into which the Turks had been thrown by their defeat at Dorylaion in July 1097 and sent an army into Western Anatolia against the independent Emir Chaka. Smyrna, Ephesus, and Philadelphia were recaptured and Byzantine rule restored in the richest and most fertile part of the region. But Alexios could not ignore the crusade for ever. News filtered back that progress had stalled at Antioch. The city had withstood a nine-month siege during which the leader of the Byzantine contingent had decamped to Cyprus. Even after it was taken on 3 June 1098, Antioch continued to block the crusaders' path. The Turkish garrison continued to hold out on the citadel and a large relieving force arrived under the command of the *atabeg* of Mosul, so that the crusaders found themselves surrounded, short of food, and heavily outnumbered. It was only in June 1098 that Alexios set out to help the crusaders and even then he never got there. At the town of Philomelion, halfway between Constantinople and Antioch, he met three important nobles who had deserted the crusade army and who advised him that the situation in the beleaguered city was hopeless. He did not wait to make further enquiries but marched his army back the way it had come. The victory at Antioch and the capture of Jerusalem the following year were therefore achieved without Byzantine help.

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Just as Antioch had starkly revealed the gap between Byzantine and crusader priorities during the First Crusade, so in the years that followed it was to dominate relations between Constantinople and the four Christian states that were established in the wake of the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. The Byzantines never voiced any objection to the

establishment of the counties of Edessa and Tripoli but they were bound to take an interest in the fate of Jerusalem because it was closely related to their political ideology: as the Christian Roman emperor, it had been the traditional role of the Byzantine ruler to protect the Holy Sepulchre and to appoint the patriarch. However, it was the principality of Antioch that engaged most of their attention. It had been under Byzantine rule until 1084 but Alexios' failure to relieve the city paved the way for Bohemond to seize it at the end of 1098. Its significance was partly strategic: it lay astride the main route from Anatolia into Syria and Palestine, and thanks to its citadel it was easy to fortify and defend. But it had ideological importance too: the bishop of Antioch, like those of Constantinople and Jerusalem, held the title of patriarch by virtue of the fact that the see had been founded by the Apostle Peter, so it was a holy place that should be under the protection of the Christian Roman emperor. Even when the city had been under Muslim rule, the emperor had been allowed to appoint the new patriarch when a vacancy occurred. Now an extra religious dimension was added. After his takeover, Bohemond ousted the patriarch and replaced him with his own appointee, a Frank who conducted the church services in Latin. By that act, Bohemond made the schism between the Churches, which up to then had been largely theoretical, a reality. Henceforth there were two claimants to the patriarchate of Antioch, a Latin and a Greek, with the latter remaining in Constantinople under the emperor's protection.

The conflict began only a few years after the end of the First Crusade. In 1103, Bohemond's nephew Tancred, in a bid to carve out a viable principality, captured the port of Latakia from its recently installed Byzantine garrison. Alexios I was outraged and dispatched a fleet from Cyprus which seized Latakia back the following year. All-out war now loomed but Bohemond, realizing that he would not be able to withstand the emperor's forces unaided, resorted to new tactics. Having entrusted Antioch to Tancred, he sailed with a small fleet to Italy and embarked on an extensive recruiting tour to attract volunteers for a new crusade to Jerusalem. He landed with his army on Byzantium's Adriatic coast in October 1107 and set about laying siege to the port of Dyrrachion but he then found himself surrounded by Alexios' army. Forced to surrender, he had to sign the treaty of Devol with the emperor, promising to hold Antioch as his vassal and to restore the Byzantine patriarch. That should have put an end to the matter but the treaty was never enforced because Bohemond did not return to the Latin East. He died in Italy in 1111 so that his descendants were able to become hereditary princes of Antioch.

The real significance of Bohemond's invasion of 1106–8 was the propaganda campaign that he waged beforehand to justify his attack on a Christian state. He took every opportunity to criticize Alexios' apparent ambivalence towards the pious task of recovering Jerusalem. It was probably at the time, and under Bohemond's auspices, that the *Gesta francorum* reached its final form. This terse Latin account of the crusade not only circulated widely but formed the basis for numerous other retellings which were then copied and spread across the west. These texts present Alexios as a scheming

and duplicitous enemy, more friendly towards infidels than Christians, as in his generous treatment of the Turkish garrison of Nicaea. Bohemond is reported to have reinforced the point by taking some captured Byzantine mercenaries, probably Pechenegs, to the papal curia in Rome to show how Alexios was using infidels to attack Christians. Most ominous of all, in a letter to the pope from this time, Bohemond described Alexios as a 'schismatic'. It was the first occasion on which the rift between the Churches was used to justify military action against Byzantium.

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In spite of the harsh words, all was forgotten for the next thirty years. The pope was too busy contending with the German emperor, the crusaders building up their footholds in Syria and Palestine, and the Byzantine emperor fighting the Pechenegs and Turks. But Alexios' son and successor John II had not forgotten his claim on Antioch and in 1130 was given a pretext to revive it when Prince Bohemond II of Antioch was killed in an ambush by a combined force of Armenians and Danishmendid Turks. He left as a successor only a 2-year-old daughter, Constance, so John entered into negotiations with the regency for the child and an agreement was reached that she should in due course marry his youngest son, Manuel. That would have given the emperor effective control of the city without the need to conquer it by force of arms but the agreement was never put into effect. In 1136, the regency changed their minds and instead gave Constance's hand to a younger son of the duke of Aquitaine, Raymond of Poitiers, who thus became prince of Antioch. So the following summer, while John was campaigning against the Armenians in nearby Cilicia, he decided to extend the campaign and to march on Antioch. When he arrived before the city in late August 1137, Raymond of Poitiers had little choice but submit to John's overlordship. In May the following year he joined the emperor on a campaign against neighbouring Aleppo and Shaizar and afterwards allowed John to make a ceremonial entry into Antioch. If John had hoped to annex Antioch at that point, his plans were frustrated by a riot that broke out in the city and forced him to withdraw. He returned with his army in 1142 but when he died in a hunting accident the following spring, his son Manuel I withdrew to Constantinople in order to ensure his succession to the throne. He did not abandon the claim on Antioch, however. In 1144, he sent an army to the region, forcing Raymond of Poitiers to travel to Constantinople and to renew his vow of submission.

These attempts on the part of the Byzantine emperors to enforce their authority over Antioch did not go unnoticed in the west where they were seen as a treacherous stab in the back against the defenders of the Holy Land. Pope Innocent II issued an edict calling on all Latins serving in the Byzantine armies to desert on the grounds that the emperor was a schismatic. A French bishop declared that John's attack on Antioch showed that the Byzantines were Christians in name only. Those perceptions were reinforced by the events of the Second Crusade.

The crusade was called in response to the capture of the city of Edessa in 1144 by Zangi, *atabeg* of Mosul and Aleppo. The French King Louis VII and the German

Emperor-Elect Conrad III both led large armies eastward along the route of the First Crusade, arriving at Constantinople in September and October 1147. They were received in the same ambivalent way as their predecessors. There were the same shadowing tactics in the Balkans and the same demand that any territory captured from the Turks which had previously been under Byzantine rule should be returned. And like their predecessors, the crusaders resented the apparent willingness of the emperor to do business with 'infidels'. The French contingent was particularly unhappy to learn that Manuel I had, the previous spring, concluded a truce with the sultan of Konya, the very enemy that the crusaders would have to fight as they passed through his territory en route to the Holy Land. They became convinced that the guides provided by the Byzantine emperor had deliberately led them into Turkish ambushes. Whatever the truth of the matter, one thing is certain, in the immediate aftermath of the crusade, Byzantium's reputation in the west was at a low ebb. The Second Crusade had not been a great success once it reached the Holy Land and a number of influential figures in Western Europe were quick to blame the Byzantines. Proposals were even made for an armed expedition against Constantinople although in the event they came to nothing. On the other hand, the passage of the Second Crusade did act as something of a wake-up call in Constantinople.

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This is probably the moment when some Byzantines started to realize that the policies that they were pursuing towards passing crusades and the Latin states in the east, while reflecting their culture, priorities, and ideology, were liable to be misinterpreted in the west, with possibly dangerous results. It is hard to be certain exactly when this dawned because contemporary evidence is lacking but it can be discerned in the work of one of Anna Komnene's successors, Niketas Choniates, whose account of the Second Crusade was very different from hers of the first. Unlike Komnene, he was apparently aware of the crusaders' ideals and motivation and that they believed, on the authority of the pope, that they would be forgiven all their sins and admitted immediately into paradise. He was also critical of the way they were treated, even asserting that Manuel I had sent letters to the Turkish sultan, urging him to attack the Latins in Anatolia. While Choniates was writing in the early thirteenth century and was not even born at the time of the Second Crusade, he may have been passing on from his sources a perception that such policies were helping to stoke tension with the Latin West.

One thing is certain: after 1147, there seems to have been an attempt at bridge building. There was a new openness to Latin ideas and culture. Manuel began to employ westerners as interpreters and advisers. He took a particular interest in the customs of Western Europe, promoting tournaments, hitherto unknown in Byzantium, and he entered into friendly correspondence with western rulers such as Henry II of England. He contracted a series of marriage alliances with western powers. His daughter by his first marriage, Maria, was wedded to Renier, son of the marquis of Montferrat and two of his nieces to other Italian noblemen. In March 1180, Manuel's

son Alexios married Agnes, the daughter of Louis VII of France, indicating that the rift over the Second Crusade was by then forgotten. The emperor worked hard to promote ecclesiastical dialogue and to lay to rest the perception that the Byzantines were unwilling participants in the effort to defend the Holy Land. In 1176, he wrote to the pope and the king of England declaring that his campaigns against the Seljuk Turks of Konya were sparked by outrage at their 'holding sway over the land of the Christians'. All this contributed to the high reputation that Manuel enjoyed in Western Europe and the Crusader States in the later stages of his reign.

It should be stressed that the change here was one of style not of policy. Manuel was still determined to vindicate Byzantine ideological claims but he did so in such a way as not to repeat the mistakes of grandfather and father and to avoid outraging western opinion. He succeeded partly by presenting himself as pro-Latin but also by exploiting diplomatic and political developments in both the east and the west. In the west, Conrad III's successor, his nephew Frederick Barbarossa, had begun a campaign to impose his will on Italy, taking military action against Milan and the city states of the north and intervening in a disputed papal election. Alarmed by the growing power of the German emperor, the papacy, the Lombard league of northern cities and even the Normans of Southern Italy courted Manuel's friendship. The emperor was, of course, only too happy to respond. In the east, the balance of power was similarly shifted by Nur al-Din's unification of the whole of Syria. The rulers of the Latin states now found themselves faced with a single powerful Muslim enemy rather than the patchwork of emirates that had existed when they arrived. Hard pressed by Nur al-Din's attacks, from about 1157 they began actively to solicit Byzantine help. Manuel's new approach was calculated to exploit this new situation. All he needed now was a pretext to enforce his will on Antioch.

That was provided in 1156. Manuel had hired the services of the new prince of Antioch, Reynald of Châtillon, against Thoros, the prince of Armenian Cilicia, who had embarked on attacks on the Byzantine cities of the area that had been recovered by Alexios I and John II. Having driven Thoros's forces back, however, the prince considered that Manuel was too slow in coming up with the promised reward. He therefore turned round and allied himself with Thoros and they launched a savage raid on the Byzantine island of Cyprus. In attacking Christian territory in this way, Reynald had put himself in the wrong and given Manuel a free hand to move against Antioch with a large army in 1158.

Faced with superior force, Reynald had little alternative to submission. He hurried to meet the emperor's army before it reached Antioch. A public ceremony followed in which Reynald appeared in person at the Byzantine camp, barefoot, dressed in a short woollen tunic with a rope around his neck. He handed his sword to the emperor and then fell prostrate at his feet. The prince had to agree that the citadel of Antioch should be surrendered to the emperor on demand, that the Latin patriarch of Antioch should be replaced by the Byzantine appointee, and that he should provide a contingent to serve in the Byzantine army. Shortly afterwards, in April 1159, Manuel made a

ceremonial entry into Antioch, on horseback, wearing a jewelled garment over his armour, with Reynald and the nobles of Antioch walking alongside. This time, thanks to Manuel's careful preparations, neither the pope nor anyone else voiced any objection.

The expedition to Antioch was the beginning of a phase of much closer relations between Byzantium and the Crusader States which was cemented with a series of marriage alliances. Two of the kings of Jerusalem, Baldwin III and Amalric, and a prince of Antioch, Bohemond III, married relatives of the emperor while in 1161 Manuel himself took as his second wife Maria, one of the daughters of the previous prince of Antioch, Raymond of Poitiers. The rulers of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Tripoli now looked to the Byzantine emperor for military support against their Muslim enemies and he was prepared to supply it even if not always on the terms that the Latins had in mind. In May 1159, for example, a joint Frankish-Byzantine army set out against Aleppo but the attack was never pressed home. Instead, Manuel agreed a treaty with Nur al-Din in which the latter agreed to provide the Byzantines with help against the Seljuk Turks of Konya and to release many of the French and German captives taken at the time of the Second Crusade. The treaty was a prime example of the Byzantines obtaining their goals without resort to battle.

Another campaign was pressed home more vigorously. In October 1169, Manuel sent a fleet to support King Amalric's invasion of Egypt. Since 1027, the Byzantines had generally been on good terms with the Fatimids and they had even warned them of the approach of the First Crusade. Only when the Fatimid regime went into visible decline was Manuel tempted to intervene. Even so, he tried first to obtain concessions by non-military means, sending an embassy to Cairo to demand the payment of annual tribute. Only when this was refused did he send envoys to Jerusalem to discuss joint action.

6. Emperor Andronikos I Komnenos.

The campaign was not a success. Amalric led his army into Egypt and the Byzantine fleet laid siege to Damietta in the Nile Delta but the city held out for weeks and the attackers' provisions began to run out. In December a truce was agreed and the Christian forces withdrew. Half the fleet was wrecked in a storm on the way back to Constantinople. In spite of that, Manuel continued to be recognized as protector of the Crusader States and the 'friend of the Latins'. The accolade was, however, a personal one and the relationship was to unravel very quickly after he died on 24 September 1180.

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Almost immediately, the Byzantine Empire entered a period of political instability and weakness. The new emperor, Alexios II, was only 11, so a council of regency ruled on his behalf, headed by his mother Maria of Antioch. Minorities were always times of uncertainty and instability during the Middle Ages as different factions attempted to gain control of the young ruler and this one was no exception. The opposition was led by Manuel's daughter by his first marriage, Maria the Porphyrogenita, and her husband Renier of Montferrat. When their plans were frustrated by the regency, they called in the cousin of the late emperor, Andronikos Komnenos, who marched into Constantinople with his army in April 1182. Once in control, Andronikos proceeded to wipe out all opposition, having not only Maria of Antioch murdered but also Renier and his wife. He initially became regent for Alexios II but then promoted himself to co-emperor. Finally, he had the child strangled and became sole emperor in September 1183. As Andronikos I, he ruled for only two years before he was toppled in turn and replaced by Isaac II Angelos.

The weakness at the top inevitably caused the prestige of the government in Constantinople to decline both within its own borders and abroad. Serbia, which had been a client state, broke away after 1180 and the island of Cyprus was taken over by Isaac Komnenos, a relative of Manuel I. Early in 1186 a revolt broke out in Bulgaria as Vlachs and Bulgars united in protest against rising taxation. The rulers of Hungary and Norman Sicily made preparations to invade. A similar reaction can be discerned in the Crusader States. The prince of Antioch, Bohemond III, repudiated his Byzantine wife and started to expand his principality at the expense of Byzantine cities in Cilicia. Relations with Jerusalem also worsened as the pro-Byzantine party there lost ground, culminating in the accession as king in 1186 of Guy of Lusignan, who had always been opposed to cooperation with the emperor.

This period of weakness might not have had much long-term significance if Manuel I's successors had been as astute as he was in hiding the differences of culture and outlook between Byzantium and the west. But they were not and after 1180 the Byzantines were perceived not only as weak but treacherous and duplicitous as well. There were a number of reasons for that. One was the paranoia that inevitably accompanies defeat. On 4 July 1187, the sultan of Egypt and Syria, Saladin, had crushed the forces of the kingdom of Jerusalem at Hattin. In the months that followed he occupied the entire coast south of Tripoli and on 2 October he received the surrender

of Jerusalem, leaving only the port of Tyre in Christian hands. So catastrophic was the reversal of fortune that someone had to be blamed and before long rumours were circulating that the Byzantine emperor had played a part in the downfall of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The whole sensational tale was recorded in a letter supposedly written by an anonymous correspondent from the Latin East in about 1189.

According to this story, the usurper Andronikos I, realizing that he was beset by enemies on all sides, decided to make an alliance with Saladin. The emperor and the sultan were to provide each other with mutual aid against their common enemies, the Seljuk Turks of Konya and the Crusader States and would divide any captured territory between them. Andronikos did not last long enough on the throne to ratify the agreement but his successor from 1185, Isaac II Angelos, did. Shortly afterwards, hearing that his brother Alexios had been imprisoned in Acre, Isaac II appealed to Saladin to attack the Latin states to liberate him. The emperor even sent a fleet of eighty galleys to support the invasion. Thus Saladin's victory at Hattin and recapture of Jerusalem had been at the behest of the Byzantine emperor.

The story is obviously untrue. It contains too many inconsistent and unbelievable details. Saladin's immediate pretext for invading the kingdom of Jerusalem had been the provocations offered by Reynald of Châtillon, who preyed on the Muslim caravans that plied between Damascus and Mecca. It was accurate in so far as the Byzantine fleet had been sent to the Eastern Mediterranean in 1187. Its objective, however, had not been to assist Saladin but to recover the rebel island of Cyprus. Perhaps most telling of all, if the terms of the alliance were as claimed, why did Saladin not hand over part of his conquests to Isaac II? Nevertheless, the story gained currency and circulated widely not just in what was left of the Crusader States but throughout Western Europe.

There was a reason why the lurid rumours of Byzantine collusion with Saladin were so readily believed. In April 1182, when Andronikos Komnenos had seized Constantinople, his troops had made common cause with the citizens in an attack on resident Italian merchants. Most of them had got wind beforehand of what was likely to happen and had been able to escape but those left behind were killed without mercy as the mob rampaged through the Italian quarters, looting and then torching the houses and warehouses. Such incidents often accompanied a military coup. The troops who brought Alexios I to power in 1081 had caused widespread damage. When news of the massacre reached the west, however, it was interpreted as a deliberate and targeted attack on Latins, motivated by Byzantine envy of western military prowess and resentment of their different religious position. The episode was a disaster for Byzantine relations with Western Europe, the papacy and the Crusader States, undoing the patient work of Manuel I over thirty years in just one day. So tarnished was the reputation of the Byzantines, that almost anything they subsequently did was likely to be interpreted as a sinister plot.

The negotiations with Saladin are a case in point. There can be no doubt that the Byzantines were in touch with the sultan but that was nothing new. They had always preferred to negotiate with their Muslim neighbours whenever possible rather than

make war. In this instance, the treaty probably concerned control of the Holy Sepulchre, a matter that the Byzantines had routinely raised with whoever ruled Jerusalem, Muslim or Christian. In return for the right to appoint the patriarch and to provide clergy for the Holy Sepulchre, the emperor gave Saladin control of the mosque in Constantinople. That is almost certainly as far as the treaty went with no provisions for mutual military assistance or division of the Holy Land. In the fevered atmosphere after 1187, however, westerners noted the presence of Ayyubid envoys in Constantinople and deduced that some sinister plot must have been hatched. Even routine matters, such as the despatch of a pulpit from Egypt for the Constantinople mosque was interpreted in the worst possible light. Opinion circulated in the west that it was an idol that was to be set up and worshipped in the Byzantine capital. This rampant paranoia provides the background for the Byzantine encounter with the Third Crusade.

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The crusade was launched by the pope on 29 October 1187 as a reaction to the arrival of news of the defeat at Hattin. In response, three large armies were formed, led by the most powerful monarchs in the west: Richard I of England, Philip II of France, and the German emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa. The German contingent was the first to make a move, crossing the Sava river into Byzantine territory in July 1189, with a view to following the route of the First and Second Crusades via Constantinople and Anatolia. News of Barbarossa's approach caused some alarm in Constantinople for, like Bohemond before him, he was an old enemy. During the Second Crusade's passage through Byzantine territory in 1147, he had been responsible for burning down a monastery near Adrianople in revenge for the murder of a German nobleman. On succeeding Conrad III, he had done what his uncle had not and had himself crowned emperor of the Romans by the pope in 1155, a direct challenge to Byzantine political theory. The two emperors had also been at odds over Italy: Manuel I had supported the Italian city states in their war against Frederick and, during the 1160s, rumours had circulated in Constantinople that the German emperor was planning an attack on the Byzantine capital in revenge. Now in 1189, information emerged that he was in contact with the leaders of the Serbs and Bulgarians, all of them enemies of the Byzantine emperor. It all fed into the perception that Frederick intended not to pass through but to conquer.

Perhaps the emperor, Isaac II, was right to be wary but his response was a fatal mixture of bravado and submission. Envoys were sent to the German emperor at Nuremberg in the autumn of 1188, agreeing to give Frederick's army free passage through his territory and to provide markets, while he in turn swore to keep the peace. Yet once the German army had crossed into Byzantine territory, its rearguard, stragglers, and foragers were repeatedly attacked. The promised supplies failed to materialize and food ran perilously short. When the army reached Philippopolis on 24 August, Frederick received news that Isaac II had thrown the ambassadors whom he had sent on ahead to Constantinople into

7. Emperor Isaac I Angelos.

prison. At first, Frederick and his counsellors were at a loss to explain Byzantine hostility but then a letter arrived at the German camp. It purported to be from Sybilla, the queen of Jerusalem and consort of Guy of Lusignan, and warned Frederick that Isaac II was obstructing the crusade in accordance with an alliance that he had made with Saladin.

The letter may well have been a forgery and not from Sibylla at all but that makes no difference to its impact. Once its contents were known, wild stories began to circulate about Byzantine machinations. It was said that Saladin had sent a barrel of poisoned wine to Isaac and that some treacherous Greeks had left some of the deadly brew in a captured town, in the hope that the Germans would drink it. One group of Germans became convinced that some wall paintings in a church contained an incitement to kill crusaders and they burned the building to the ground. These perceptions soon led to open hostilities. In August, Barbarossa's son Frederick, duke of Swabia, launched a surprise attack on a Byzantine shadowing force and sent it into precipitate retreat. His father started to make plans to attack Constantinople.

Faced with superior force and warned by his counsellors about the rumours of an alliance with Saladin, Isaac II backed down. He released the imprisoned ambassadors and opened negotiations. In a treaty concluded at Adrianople in February 1190, Isaac had to agree to reverse his previous obstructionism and to facilitate the passage of the German army across the Dardanelles to Anatolia, to provide markets to supply them, and to hand over hostages and a large indemnity in the form of gold and silver coin and silk cloths. The army made the crossing in March and then headed east, out of Byzantine territory.

Niketas Choniates looked back on these events ruefully, as he had been personally involved as governor of Philippopolis, a town that lay in the path of the German

advance through Thrace. He recorded how frantic orders arrived from Constantinople for the walls to be reinforced, followed swiftly by an urgent countermand to demolish them. For him, the lesson was clear. Barbarossa wanted only to reach the Holy Land and recapture Jerusalem. The Byzantines should have cooperated with him and done everything to speed him through their territory. When the German emperor drowned in the river Saleph on 10 June 1190, Choniates paid fulsome tribute to him as 'a man who deserved to enjoy a blessed and perpetual memory'. But what had been done had been done and Byzantium would have to live with the consequences.

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After 1190, a further hardening of western attitudes to Byzantium can be discerned. The Byzantines were not so much seen as enemies but as insincere friends who needed to be coerced into doing their duty. The approach began to be implemented even before the Third Crusade had ended. Significantly, the kings of France and England chose to travel to the Holy Land by sea rather than via Constantinople, apparently eschewing the Byzantine emperor's promised support. That did not mean, though, that Byzantine resources were not to be used to sustain the expedition. It was just that they were to be taken by force. In May 1191, the fleet of Richard I of England made a detour to Cyprus. Since 1184, the island had been under the rule of Isaac Komnenos, who was a rebel against Isaac II, but it was still Byzantine territory. Landing with his troops at Limassol, Richard occupied the island in a campaign that lasted only a little over three weeks. In theory, this attack on Christian territory by a crusade army was a violation of its intended purpose but Richard's apologists had their justifications ready. One was that Isaac Komnenos had mistreated some of Richard's men who had been cast ashore in a

8. Emperor Alexios III Angelos.

storm. Another is familiar: it was said that Komnenos had been the friend and ally of Saladin and that he had been plotting to harm crusaders on their way to Jerusalem. Another was something new. By taking Cyprus, Richard had secured a rich source of agricultural produce which could be used in future to supply the armies defending the kingdom of Jerusalem. Byzantium's riches, if not voluntarily given, could be seized to support the pious enterprise of regaining the Holy Sepulchre.

Following the failure of the Third Crusade to recapture Jerusalem, it was only a matter of time before plans were made for another expedition and from the very beginning it was envisaged that Byzantium would play a central role in assisting the enterprise and, if unwilling to do so, it would be compelled by force. In March 1195, the western emperor, Henry VI, the son and successor of Frederick Barbarossa, took the cross at Bari, taking advantage of the favourable situation presented by the death of Saladin in 1193 and by the greater resources available to him by his conquest of the Norman kingdom of Sicily. Nevertheless, the western emperor felt that he needed more. In December 1196, he sent envoys to Constantinople to deliver what amounted to an ultimatum. They laid claim to all the land between the Balkan Adriatic coast and Thessalonica but that appears to have been something of a formality, designed to give force to Henry's main aim of extorting Byzantine finance for his proposed crusade. The envoys told the Byzantine emperor that he should put his ports in readiness to receive the crusade fleet, provide ships to join the expedition, and hand over 5,000 pounds of gold. If he failed to deliver, they warned, he could expect their master to invade.

By now, the Byzantine emperor was Alexios III who had deposed and replaced his brother Isaac II in 1195. He and his advisers were well aware that they would not be able to resist Henry VI if he enforced his demands. An attempt was made to negotiate and they did succeed in getting the tribute reduced to 1,000 pounds of gold but that was as far as concessions went. Alexios III now had to raise the tribute by levying the *Alamanikon* or German tax, and by stripping off the gold and silver ornaments from the tombs of long dead emperors in Constantinople's church of the Holy Apostles. In the meantime, Henry VI had not waited for the Byzantine gold to be delivered and his fleet had sailed into Acre in September 1197. Only a few weeks later, news reached the German crusaders that Henry had suddenly died at the age of only 33, leaving as his heir a baby son. Knowing that instability was bound to follow, the Germans hurriedly made a truce with the Ayyubid sultan and withdrew. It was a reprieve for Byzantium as well since there was no longer any likelihood that the German threat would be carried out and the tribute was never delivered. Even though Byzantium had escaped this time, the precedent had been set. Henceforth it was expected to demonstrate its commitment to the cause of Christendom by putting its hand in its pocket, and was to be threatened with force if it failed to comply.

The events of 1196–7 provide the essential background to the diversion of the Fourth Crusade. The expedition was initiated by Pope Innocent III on 15 August 1198 and a number of prominent French nobles such as Louis of Blois and Baldwin of Flanders took the cross. The plan was that the army would sail to Egypt, conquer the country,

9. Emperor Henry VI.

and use it as a base from which to march on Jerusalem. The army assembled at Venice and a Venetian fleet was gathered to carry it, but the project was plagued by financial difficulties from the start as the cost of conveying such a large force by sea was astronomical. So it was something of a godsend when, probably in late 1201, Alexios Angelos, son of the deposed Isaac II, made an offer to the leaders. If they would divert to Constantinople and restore his father to the throne he promised to provide supplies for the army, a payment of 200,000 silver marks, a contingent of 10,000 men to accompany the expedition to Egypt, and a permanent corps of 500 knights to assist in the defence of the Holy Land. In short, the Byzantine prince was promising to turn from obstructing the crusades, as his predecessors were perceived to have done, to being an active participant in them. Not surprisingly the leaders eagerly accepted the offer, although many of the rank and file were unhappy about what they saw as a deviation from the aim of crusade. The fleet sailed to Constantinople and restored Isaac II to the throne in the summer of 1203. Unfortunately, Isaac and his son Alexios proved unable to pay the sum that had been promised. The threat of force had always lurked behind western demands for Byzantine support and now it was unleashed. In April 1204, the French troops and Venetian mariners of the Fourth Crusade attacked and captured Constantinople. In the subsequent sack of the city, they helped themselves to the riches that had so long been denied them, not scrupling to plunder churches and monasteries. They then raised one of their leaders, Baldwin of Flanders, to be the new emperor and partitioned the Byzantine provinces between themselves. The so-called 'Latin Empire' that followed proved short-lived and the Byzantines reconquered Constantinople in 1261, but that should not be allowed to obscure the significance of the events of 1204. The conquest of Constantinople was not the result of a series of accidents, as some have claimed. It was a consequence of the gulf between the aims of the Byzantine emperors and those of the popes, the leaders of crusades and the rulers of the states of the Latin East.

CHAPTER 10

The Jewish Response

REBECCA RIST

Jews were the first victims of the crusades with massacres in the Rhineland accompanying the passage of the First Crusade in the 1090s. Later they were expected to pay levies to finance expeditions to recover Jerusalem from Saladin. This chapter will explore the Jewish response to and memory of those events which they often placed in the context of longstanding Jewish martyrdom: God was testing their faith and using the Christians as His instruments. The context will primarily be the impact of crusading on Jews in Western Europe, rather than on Jews from across all regions affected by the crusades.

Introduction: Crusader Violence

From the First Crusade onwards popes authorized crusades against Muslims in the Near East and subsequently against Muslims in Spain, pagans in the Baltic, heretics in Europe, and political enemies in the papal states. Although popes never authorized them against Jews, and at times issued letters of protection against crusader violence, nevertheless crusades had a profound, if indirect, effect on Jewish life; their communities faced a new persecuting attitude at the heart of western Christian culture in papal calls for crusades. The rhetorical language used by Urban II and later preachers unleashed uncontrollable religious rage which from 1096 onwards led to religious and racist attacks on Europe's Jewry.

During the High Middle Ages, Jews, who tended to live in the rapidly expanding towns of Europe, were a small minority, accounting for approximately 1 per cent of the population; yet their geographical location was wide. They lived in Northern France, especially in the Ile-de-France, Champagne, and the Loire valley; in the south, Jewish communities flourished in Languedoc, Provence, and the Comtat-Venaissin. There were Jews in England, Germany, Iberia, and Italy, including the papal states, and in Eastern Europe. For these communities life was precarious, since Jews were always at the mercy of imperial, royal, and papal power, not least because they were increasingly confined to commercial activity, particularly moneylending. As a distinct minority

1. Medieval Jewish Moneylenders, Illuminated manuscript from France at the time of Louis IX, *c.*1270.

group, they suffered constant fluctuations of fortune which worsened from the late eleventh century as hostility increased with the onset of the crusades.

Jews as Infidels, Christ-killers, and 'Other'

Why did crusaders attack Jews? It was fear of the Muslim enemy in the Near East that encouraged hostility towards them. Many crusaders believed that although Muslim 'infidels' were a proper target because they had invaded the Holy Land—the place of Christ's life and passion—Jewish 'infidels' closer to home, indeed living in their midst, deserved punishment for the greater crime of complicity in Christ's crucifixion. The abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable, summed up this mentality, asking why Christians should go the end of the world to fight Saracens when other infidels lived among them who were 'far and away worse than the Saracens'.

According to canon law, theology, and tradition, the Church was supposed to tolerate 'infidels' as outsiders in Christian society. Yet ordinary crusaders, driven by the idea that violence in support of God's causes was holy and crusading a wonderful way of doing penance, neither knew nor cared about such niceties. They took the cross in a fervent atmosphere, a heady mix of collective eschatological hope, individual mystical experience, desire for glory and renown, visions of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, and promise of spiritual rewards; hence it is hardly surprising that Jews were scapegoated as Christ killers.

Tolerance of other religions and ways of life—of what historians in recent years have termed 'the Other'—was of much less importance to medieval Christianity.

Although both Jews and Christians shared the heritage of the Old Testament, and learned individuals from both faiths engaged in rigorous, sophisticated, intellectual debate, to most ordinary Christians the practises and religious rites of their Jewish neighbours seemed alien and strange. Jews, like heretics, seemed a potentially dangerous and subversive 'Other'.

Violence against Jews pre-dates the crusades; we know of examples not only of violence, but of a whole range of severe restrictions, penalties, and expulsions imposed by both ecclesiastical and civil authorities which constantly dogged Jewish communities. By 1010 rumours were circulating that Jews had encouraged Muslims to destroy the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem; this led to pogroms in Orléans, Rouen, Limoges, and Rome, as well as in the Rhineland; in 1026 Jews were expelled from Limoges; in 1143 a 150 of them were killed in Ham; in Chalon-sur-Saône and Béziers clerics encouraged the popular 'custom' of stoning Jews on Palm Sunday for betraying Jesus and denying Mary's role as God's Mother; following a tradition supposedly dating to the ninth century, each year in Toulouse it was customary for a Jew to be beaten in front of St Stephen's Church as symbolic punishment for the alleged betrayal of the town by Jews to Muslim troops centuries before; each year in Holy Week mobs ritually stoned Jewish quarters of towns in the kingdom of Aragon. The eleventh century saw a new spirit of religious reform and this, combined with new social and economic factors, exacerbated the deterioration of Jewish-Christian relations. Hence the crusades were

2. The Crucifixion of William of Norwich depicted on a rood screen in Holy Trinity church, Loddon, Norfolk, England.

authorized against a background of pre-existing violence and mistrust and were also a symbol of a profound shift in ideas about Jews by western Christians.

Jewish Moneylenders and Crusaders

In the High Middle Ages Jews were artisans: spinners, tailors, dyers, hatters, tinsmiths, armourers, shoemakers, and saddlers, as well as businessmen, doctors, lawyers, and of course rabbis. Yet moneylending was also becoming an economically important occupation. Although Italian and, more specifically, Lombard banking was also growing, and there still remained many Christian moneylenders, the proportion of specifically Jewish moneylenders increased.

The Church's strict prohibition on Christians lending at high rates of interest—known as usury—may be part of the explanation of this phenomenon. Another factor was that, although according to the Torah Jews were forbidden to lend at interest to co-religionists, they could, under certain circumstances, lend to Gentiles. This, however, was discouraged by rabbis, in accordance with the precepts of the Talmud, but from the twelfth century onwards these began to justify exacting usury from Christians in compensation for poverty, heavy taxation, exclusion from landholding, fear of persecution, and other economic hardships from which they suffered, even resorting to bribery if necessary. Hence Jewish men, and also Jewish women, increasingly took to moneylending.

Meanwhile, crusaders needed to borrow money. The cost of travelling to the Near East, estimated as at least four times many crusaders' annual revenue, meant that, despite small subsidies paid to them from the mid-thirteenth century onwards, many needed to borrow money for their journey. Indeed, papal correspondence reveals a regular concern that crusaders should not be prevented from embarking on their journey because they could pay back neither the money they had borrowed to set out nor the interest accruing from it.

As early as 1095, realizing that many crusaders found it difficult to secure funds for the First Crusade, Urban II encouraged monasteries to lend money as a pious contribution. Yet, if crusaders could not attach themselves to a lord with connections to monastic lands, they often had to borrow by pledging whatever land they themselves held, either with mortgages or, more commonly, vifgages—living pledges or security—and many did not possess adequate land to pledge. When in 1156 Alexander III forbade the taking of mortgages on the grounds that they were usurious, this only added to the difficulties crusaders experienced trying to raise cash.

Such financial problems encouraged crusaders to turn to Jews to borrow money, a need exacerbated by the fact that, from the pontificate of Eugenius III (1145–53) onwards, the papacy was stern in condemning moneylending by Christians, especially by clerics. Popes became increasingly aware that many who responded to calls to take part in crusades could not raise sufficient cash on their own and had to turn to Jews to borrow. Yet, due to this dependence, feelings of resentment often ran high against Jews, built up among those crusaders who had accrued substantial debts: another complaint

3. Konrad Witz, *The Church*, *c.*1435, Kunstmuseum, Basel, Switzerland.

against Jewish communities and another reason for scapegoating. As a result, on their way to the Near East a handful of crusaders grew rich by seizing Jewish money and assets and destroying their communities.

Hence, ironically, one way in which the papacy sought to control the negative effects of crusading on Jews was by pronouncements regarding Jewish moneylending. Neither Eugenius III nor his successors until Innocent III had prohibited Jews from lending at interest. Even later prohibitions of Innocent and his successors on the extortion of 'heavy and immoderate usury' from Christians by Jews was not an outright ban. Rather, it was an attempt to prevent the exploitation of crusaders while permitting Jews to engage in controlled moneylending—which popes rightly saw as necessary for Europe's economic prosperity. Popes never chose completely to forbid Jews from moneylending. Concern about Jewish moneylending is much more visible in the decrees of Church councils than in papal correspondence.

Jewish Witness: The Hebrew Crusade Chronicles and Historical Memory

Both Catholic and Jewish sources recorded crusader atrocities, including forced baptisms, against Jewish communities and the Jewish response; some such records were contemporaneous, others later. Christian accounts include that of Canon Albert of

Aachen, composed between 1125 and 1150, and the Benedictine Ekkehard of Aura's version of the World Chronicle of Frutolf of Michelsberg. Albert's account is not first hand but is reasonably sympathetic to the plight of Jews; Ekkehard was a participant in the crusade of 1101 and is hostile. Both give us a Catholic perspective.

From the Jewish perspective there are writings—known collectively as 'The Hebrew Crusade Chronicles'—which record the massacres associated with the First and Second Crusades to inform posterity and to keep their faith alive. They include the chronicles of Solomon bar Simson (composed 1140) and of Rabbi Eliezer bar Nathan (composed mid-twelfth century), 'The Narrative of the Old Persecutions', otherwise known as 'The Mainz Anonymous' (fourteenth century), and the *Sefer Zekhirah* (*The Book of Remembrance*, late 1160s / early to mid-1170s) of Rabbi Ephraim of Bonn. Solomon bar Simson's Chronicle (1140), recorded the practice of Kiddush ha-Shem (Sanctifying the Name of God): that is Jews dying rather than facing forced baptism. This practice of self-martyrdom for their faith recalled the events of Masada recorded by the historian Flavius Josephus in the first century CE. Rabbi Eliezer bar Nathan's chronicle, which relied to some extent on Solomon, seems from the number of extant manuscripts to have been particularly popular. Solomon's version is more factual, Eliezer's more emotional. 'The Narrative of the Old Persecutions', composed much later—its alternative title 'The Mainz Anonymous' indicates its anonymity—chronicles events in Mainz, where the Jewish community sought in vain for Church leaders to protect them, and points to stereotypes such as Jews as well poisoners. The *Sefer Zekhira* is a collection of popular, but factually accurate, poems about the Second Crusade by Rabbi Ephraim, a famous liturgist.

These 'Hebrew Crusade Chronicles' are problematic. Who wrote them and why? To what extent should we accord them 'face value'? Did they have a homiletic or didactic purpose? How did their readership influence their content? There is also the problem of memory, particularly the formation of collective memory. How far were their authors aware of the boundaries between history and legend? To what extent are they reliable sources for any specific chronological period? Since they are written from the perspective of elites (Rabbis and community leaders), they may be of limited use for understanding the earlier Jewish society.

Certainly, such accounts were composed and recomposed by different individuals with a variety of agendas and perspectives. Nevertheless, they show the common goal of attempting to ensure the defence of their communities, indeed of Judaism itself, in times of conflict and crisis. They teach us that neither secular nor religious authorities—even when favourably disposed or neutral—were able to control a violence buoyed by millenarian fervour and greed for Jewish wealth. They also tell us that Jewish anxiety stemmed from multiple causes: a desire to ensure the safety of their communities from crusaders, indeed from all perceived hostile outsiders, revealing a fear of conversion, and a determination to resist the Christian faith. And they teach us much about the internal workings of their communities: the extent to which Jews interacted socially, culturally, and politically with Gentile neighbours and the importance of Jewish identity.

4. Konrad Witz, *The Synagogue*, *c.*1435, Kunstmuseum, Basel, Switzerland.

In general, such Jewish accounts are regarded as reasonably accurate. Their chroniclers—unsurprisingly since their aim was to provide a narrative dealing with important individuals and events—were interested in how the crusades immediately affected their communities. Nevertheless, historians have pointed out that—like their Christian counterparts—they had little idea of modern historical methodology, nor were they necessarily attempting historical objectivity. Their aim was as much to record the history of their people in their contemporary setting and to explore the existential dilemmas they faced as a minority group as to record the details of actual events.

Indeed except in times of messianic fervour, which might provoke renewed interest in contemporary history, Jewish writers would absorb what they recorded into tried-and-tested conceptual frameworks. Yet historians have argued that from the eleventh century onwards there was a move to unite sacred and non-sacred history into a collective, unified vision with a divine design: a framework of Jewish historical consciousness; also that the Hebrew Crusade Chronicles deliberately subordinated specific historical facts to the elaboration of a grand historical drama in which the Jewish people played a unique role in a series of highly significant events at a time of cataclysmic change. This was not, of course, unique to medieval *Jewish* writing; contemporary Christian writers also saw history as a series of events enabling God's plans to unfold: in their case, for salvation.

The First Crusade: Jews as First Victims

From such Catholic and Jewish sources, the reasons for the massacres of Jewish communities by crusaders appear complex. As we have argued, whipped up by

rhetorical preaching and fervour, crusading armies tended to become disorganized, unruly, and predisposed to violence. Having taken the cross to kill Muslim 'infidels' in the Near East, they might well believe it was their duty to kill Jewish 'infidels' whom they encountered in Europe, blaming them for the death of Christ which they must avenge. Hence, they were driven by ideas of self-purification, vengeance, and a desire to scapegoat a religious 'Other' in their midst.

Where did such desires originate? The impetus to crusade came in 1095 when at the reforming Council of Clermont, Urban II preached an armed pilgrimage to the Near East to aid Byzantine Christians against the Seljuk Turks, to liberate the Holy Land and especially Jerusalem. His preaching brought together ideas of pilgrimage and holy war which united formed a theological and theoretical basis, and he introduced the cross as a distinctive symbol of the vow of commitment, drawing on Matthew 16: 24 and Luke 12: 27—'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me'. His message was aimed at the knightly classes and he said nothing about Jewish communities—either protective or antagonistic.

Urban's call to take up the cross was a first, according to the various accounts we have of his speech at the Council of Clermont; he envisaged that those who answered his call would be knights. He appears to have been genuinely and naively amazed by the popular response to his call and, with no experience from previous crusading, failed to anticipate crusader violence against Jews. In his chronicle Solomon bar Simson referred to the pope and his message as the word of Satan and revealed that he 'intervened among the nations and they all gathered as one to fulfil the command'. It is, however, unclear whether he was referring to Urban II and therefore blaming his speech at Clermont for the anti-Jewish riots that resulted, or to the anti-pope Clement III who denounced Jews who, having been forcibly converted by crusaders, returned to Judaism after the fall of Jerusalem. Urban voiced no objection to the return to Judaism of Jews forcibly converted; in contrast Clement declared any such reversion contrary to canon law.

Since Solomon bar Simson portrays so many aspects of Christianity and Christian behaviour more generally in derogatory terms, his anti-papal feelings are no surprise. Although it is possible that Jewish communities may have appealed to Urban to take action—perhaps through the community in Rome—almost twenty years had to elapse—and this after the German Emperor Henry IV proclaimed secular protection for Jews in 1097—until a later pope, Calixtus II, issued *Sicut Iudaeis*, otherwise known as the *Constitutio pro Iudaeis*, the official papal promise of protection for the Jews originally decreed by Pope Gregory I in 598 under very different circumstances. But although the First Crusade was Urban's initiative, we have no evidence that he ever condemned crusader violence. He certainly did not reissue the *Constitutio pro Iudaeis*. It was, however, reissued by several of Urban's successors—Calixtus II, Eugenius III, and Alexander III—on the eve of crusades and at times of crisis.

It seems to us at best a terrible oversight that Urban II failed to anticipate that his speech at Clermont and the enthusiasm for crusading might arouse violence against

Jewish communities; also that he failed to reissue the *Constitutio pro Iudaeis* before the crusade began, unlike a number of his successors. Yet, when he called for the First Crusade in 1095, he had no crusading precedent on which to draw. His aim was to inspire the knightly classes and he was taken aback when his call was also answered by peasants. He failed to envisage the ensuing mob violence, so had no obvious reason to issue *Sicut Iudaeis*.

Yet crusader pogroms against Jews soon broke out, mainly—but by no means exclusively—perpetrated by the urban and rural poor, such as those who took part in the 'Peasants Crusade'—the vanguard expedition led by popular preachers such as Peter the Hermit, Walter the Penniless, the priests, Gottschalk and Volkmar, and the German Count Emico of Leiningen who, claiming that Christ had appeared to him and promised to make him emperor if he converted Europe's Jews, led a 10,000 strong army forcibly to convert or massacre Jewish communities. As the peasants set out in waves across France, Germany, and Hungary to Constantinople—many getting no further than the Balkans—they ferociously persecuted Jewish communities, killing or violently converting many in France, Bavaria, and Bohemia, and particularly in the Rhineland: in Speyer, Worms, Cologne, Trier, and Mainz. Albert of Aachen recorded what happened at Mainz:

> Not long after this, they started upon their journey, as they had vowed, and arrived in a great multitude at the city of Mainz. There Count Emico, a nobleman, a very mighty man in this region, was awaiting, with a large band of Teutons, the arrival of the pilgrims who were coming thither from diverse lands by the King's highway.
>
> The Jews of this city, knowing of the slaughter of their brethren, and that they themselves could not escape the hands of so many, fled in hope of safety to Bishop Rothard. They put an infinite treasure in his guard and trust, having much faith in his protection, because he was Bishop of the city. Then that excellent Bishop of the city cautiously set aside the incredible amount of money received from them. He placed the Jews in the very spacious hall of his own house, away from the sight of Count Emico and his followers, that they might remain safe and sound in a very secure and strong place.
>
> But Emico and the rest of his band held a council and, after sunrise, attacked the Jews in the hall with arrows and lances. Breaking the bolts and doors, they killed the Jews, about seven hundred in number, who in vain resisted the force and attack of so many thousands. They killed the women, also, and with their swords pierced tender children of whatever age and sex. The Jews, seeing that their Christian enemies were attacking them and their children, and that they were sparing no age, likewise fell upon one another, brother, children, wives, and sisters, and thus they perished at each other's hands. Horrible to say, mothers cut the throats of nursing children with knives and stabbed others, preferring them to perish thus by their own hands rather than to be killed by the weapons of the uncircumcised.
>
> From this cruel slaughter of the Jews a few escaped; and a few because of fear, rather than because of love of the Christian faith, were baptized. With very great spoils taken from these people, Count Emico, Clarebold, Thomas, and all that intolerable company of men and women then continued on their way to Jerusalem … (*The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, ed. A.C. Krey (Princeton NJ, 1921), pp. 54–5)

As did Ekkehard of Aura:

> Just at that time, there appeared a certain soldier, Emico, Count of the lands around the Rhine, a man long of very ill repute on account of his tyrannical mode of life. Called by divine revelation, like another Saul, as he maintained, to the practice of religion of this kind, he usurped to himself the command of almost twelve thousand cross bearers. As they were led through the cities of the Rhine and the Main and also the Danube, they either utterly destroyed the execrable race of the Jews wherever they found them (being even in this matter zealously devoted to the Christian religion) or forced them into the bosom of the Church. (*The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eyewitnesses and Participants*, ed. A.C. Krey (Princeton NJ, 1921), p. 53)

As we can see, these Christian writers concurred in the savagery of the crusader armies.

The Hebrew Crusade Chroniclers, Eliezer bar Nathan and Solomon bar Simson, also recorded the pogroms against Jews in Germany, explaining that many crusaders held them directly responsible for the death of Christ. According to these chroniclers, however, the attitudes the Christian authorities displayed towards the Jews after such attacks were complex. They record how several bishops, including the bishops of

5. Auguste Migette, *Massacre of the Jews of Metz* during the First Crusade (1850).

Speyer and Prague, tried to protect the Jews, while the archbishops of Mainz and Trier were also prepared to help—until they realized they were powerless to control crusader mobs. As a result, although Church authorities sometimes tried to protect Jews, thousands were forcibly converted or killed. The response of secular authorities, however, was slightly more effective. In 1097, the German Emperor Henry IV allowed those who had been forcibly baptised to return to Judaism and in 1103 he proclaimed at Mainz a country-wide peace. In England, William II also attempted to protect Jewish communities.

Massacres were also perpetrated by those who set out later on the 'Princes' Crusade'. Inspired by Urban II's call, an army under Hugh of Vermandois made its way through Italy and were joined by soldiers previously under the command of Count Emico. His comrade, Godfrey of Bouillon, appears to have agreed and sold loans with Jewish moneylenders against his substantial landholdings in order to raise an army, and accepted money from Jewish communities in the Rhineland who in desperation bribed him in the hope of protecting themselves.

When Godfrey of Bouillon's forces sacked Jerusalem in 1099, the Jewish community, already aware of the Rhineland massacres and hence fearful, was seriously affected. Jerusalem was not only holy and a place of pilgrimage for Christians and Muslims, but also for Jews as the place where God forbade the patriarch Abraham from sacrificing his son Isaac, where the patriarch Jacob dreamt of a ladder ascending to heaven, and where King Solomon had built the temple. We know from contemporary accounts that Jews fled to the city's main synagogue near the Western Wall, and that many, like their Muslim counterparts, were cruelly slaughtered there.

Nevertheless, after the sack of Jerusalem, and despite Jews often conspiring with Muslims against crusader oppression, unlike in the west, we have no record of crusaders perpetrating further massacres of Jewish communities or forced baptisms in the Holy Land, while the treatment of Jews in the Crusader States was often better, or at least not worse, than in Europe. Jews continued to live under Frankish rule in towns such as Acre, where there was a thriving community, and to practice their faith. Although, like Muslims and eastern Christians, they remained subservient to the Latin Christians, they were legally permitted to visit, but not to live, in Jerusalem.

After the crusaders had taken Jerusalem from the Fatimids and most had returned home, Urban II commissioned the archbishop of Milan to preach the cross in Lombardy. His successor Paschal II also encouraged crusading initiatives and recruitment continued in France and Germany. Yet although both Paschal II and Calixtus II authorized crusades to the Near East, we have no surviving evidence with what words they inspired the faithful by their preaching. Small contingents continued to set out for the Near East but, as far as we know, did not harass Jewish communities. Only in 1145 when Eugenius III authorized the Second Crusade in his great general letter *Quantum praedecessores*, after the fall of the northernmost crusader county of Edessa—the first to revert to Muslim control—did mass crusading begin again in earnest and Jewish communities were once more endangered.

6. The Crusader Assault on Jerusalem, 1099, from the *Romans de Godefroy de Buillon et de Salehadin*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Jews and the Second Crusade: The Jewish Response

In the twelfth century each major crusading appeal ended in fresh attacks on Jews. In 1145 Eugenius III authorized the Second Crusade through *Quantum praedecessores*. According to the accounts of the chroniclers Odo of Deuil and William of Tyre, the crusade was organized by the Cistercian Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux and those who responded to the papal call included two of the crowned heads of Europe: Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany. *Quantum praedecessores* specifically regulated that those who took the cross with a pure heart were absolved from 'usurious contracts' but it said nothing specific about Jewish moneylenders. Furthermore, unlike Solomon bar Simson, with his reference to the papacy, Ephraim of Bonn made no direct reference to Eugenius III nor to *Quantum praedecessores* in his *Sefer Zekhirah* which suggests that he did not regard the pronouncement as relevant to his account.

Nevertheless, we may deduce from Ephraim's chronicle that Louis VII took note of *Quantum praedecessores*. In 1146 he issued a comprehensive edict which released crusaders from all obligations beyond the repayment of the principal and forbade moneylenders from recovering interest lost through profits generated by pledges, especially on land. Since crusaders were often the people to whom Jews had loaned money, Jews therefore had to bribe royal officials to ensure protection of their communities. Ephraim not only recorded how Louis decreed that interest on debts

owed by any crusader would be cancelled, but specifically blamed the king for cancelling the interest that crusaders owed to Jews whom the king had emphasized were principle moneylenders in his kingdom: this despite the fact that, according to several Catholic chroniclers, in 1171 Louis expressed unusual sympathy for French Jews after the execution of more than thirty at Blois on the charge of murdering a Christian child. By contrast to Louis's decision about moneylending, Ephraim noted that in England matters were less dire on the eve of the crusade due to the protection of King Stephen who 'had it in his heart to defend them [Jews] and save their lives and property'.

As well as *Quantum praedecessores*, at the beginning of his pontificate Eugenius III reissued the *Constitutio pro Iudaeis*; perhaps this was in anticipation of renewed crusader pogroms which might arise from his authorization of the Second Crusade. Certainly, during the preaching of the crusade, Jewish chroniclers recorded the violence against Jewish communities in the Rhineland. Ephraim of Bonn, who knew well the tales of the persecutions of the Jewish communities there by the first crusaders, recounted in the *Sefer Zekhirah* that just before the Second Crusade, Jews were once more attacked, the pretext being that Christ had to be avenged. Some preaching was more specifically anti-Jewish, particularly by Radulf, a dissolute Cistercian who claimed that Jews were failing to make any financial contribution to the rescue of the Holy Land. This sparked pogroms in Cologne, Speyer, Mainz, and Würzburg, and spread to France: to Carentan, Sully, and Ramerupt.

To some degree, the concern of the Church to protect Jewish communities appears more apparent during the Second Crusade than the First. Particularly striking is Ephraim's depiction of the role of Bernard of Clairvaux. He records that many crusaders extorted protection money from Jews in the Rhineland in return for a promise of safety, but that God took pity on their suffering and sent them Bernard of Clairvaux, whom he describes as a 'decent priest', a great man and a rabbi, knowledgeable about Judaism, who attempted to prevent any recurrence of bloodshed and preached against the violence of Radulf.

According to Ephraim, in preaching against Radulf, Bernard cited Psalm 59:12 'Kill them not, lest my people forget', to argue that anyone who laid violent hands on a Jew was laying hands on Christ himself and to demonstrate that in inciting crusaders to kill Jews, Radulf was theologically unsound. Ephraim clearly believed that had it not been for Bernard's preaching, the Jewish communities would have been destroyed. In portraying him as a great protector, he emphasized not only that Bernard was universally regarded as a holy man who disliked all forms of bribery, but that, unlike Radulf, he understood that knowledge of correct Christian theology entailed unequivocal protection for Jews.

A cynic might argue that Ephraim hoped, by praising such a prominent cleric, to ensure better protection for Jewish communities. Although we know from his correspondence that Bernard called on kings to apply the precepts of *Quantum praedecessores*, which, as we have seen, decreed that crusader debt should be annulled, Ephraim failed

7. Seder table, Barcelona, Spain.

to mention Bernard's dislike of Jewish moneylending or his pronouncements against it—despite the fact that in the same pastoral letter in which he decried crusader violence, Bernard also implored Louis to act against usury.

Undoubtedly the profits Jews and other usurers received from moneylending was a great concern for crusade preachers, senior clergymen, and popes throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Bernard's contemporary Peter the Venerable went so far as to declare that since all Jewish wealth was the product of moneylending and therefore of theft, Jews' property should be confiscated and the proceeds used to finance the crusade. Bernard, who wielded immense influence on the political as well as religious stage of medieval Europe, was less extreme. Nevertheless he made clear his concern about Jews lending at interest, and Louis's proclamation appears influenced by both Peter and himself.

Ephraim's omission has led some to argue that he was deliberately tendentious in his one-sided praise of Bernard. However, we do not know if he had access to all of Bernard's correspondence with Louis. Indeed, even if he did know that Bernard had urged the king to cancel interest owed by crusaders, this may have seemed of little importance compared with his action in saving Jewish lives. Ephraim emphasized that Bernard was willing to protect the Jews because he espoused correct Christian theology without bribery, but he also portrayed him as an exception to the rule, emphasizing that in general without bribery the local clergy could not be trusted to protect Jews.

'Sanctifying the Name of God'

There is no doubt that the Hebrew chroniclers of the First and Second Crusade portrayed many Christians and many aspects of Christianity in a negative light, not least as an outlet for the rage they and their fellow Jews felt at the persecution of their communities. As noted, it was also an attempt to defend their communities against an attack on Jewish identity and to emphasize that God was using Christians to test the depth of their commitment as the Chosen People. Indeed in the face of crusade violence, the chroniclers emphasized the importance of a longstanding tradition of martyrdom. According to their accounts of the mass suicide of Rhineland Jews in 1096, in order to avoid forced conversion by crusaders on their way to the Near East, approximately 1,200 Jews practised Kiddush ha-Shem—Sanctifying the Name of God. This involved the suicide of all members of a family in a specific ceremony deliberately performed in the presence of the entire community. Such accounts depict not only Jewish men committing suicide, but also Jewish women willing to sacrifice themselves and their children rather than convert. The chronicle of Solomon bar Simson recorded such an event at Mainz:

> The women there girded their loins with strength and slew their sons and their daughters and then themselves. Many men, too, plucked up courage and killed their wives, their sons, their infants. The tender and delicate mother slaughtered the babe she had played with; all of them, men and women arose and slaughtered one another. The maidens and

> the young brides and grooms looked out of the windows and in a loud voice cried: 'Look and see, O our God, what we do for the sanctification of Thy great name in order not to exchange you for a hanged and crucified one…'. (*The Jew in the Medieval World. A Sourcebook: 315–1791*, ed. J.R. Marcus, revised ed. M. Saperstein (Cincinnati OH, 1999), p. 130)

In Solomon's account, a Jewish mother named Rachel allowed her own children to be killed 'lest those uncircumcised ones come and seize them alive and raise them in their ways of error'.

Later, in 1140 on the eve of the Second Crusade, Solomon similarly described how at Worms 'bridegrooms slew their betrothed, and merciful women their only children' to avoid forced conversion; and how at Mainz 'the most gentle and tender of women slaughtered the child of her delight' to prevent his conversion. Such descriptions evoked Jeremiah 31: 15: 'Thus says the Lord: A voice is heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping. Rachel is weeping for her children; she refuses to be comforted for her children, because they are not', thereby giving the words biblical justification. It is also possible that prayers used in synagogues such as 'they stood their watch and slaughtered them crying' referred to these specific acts of parents performing Kiddush ha-Shem on their children.

It is difficult to know how to interpret such accounts, not least because it is possible that the ancient practice of Kiddush ha-Shem, which dated back to the siege of Masada in 73 CE as recounted by Josephus, was not universally accepted in medieval Jewish communities. Possibly chroniclers such as Eliezer Ben Nathan deliberately manipulated the Rhineland events of the First Crusade to normalize the practice of Kiddush ha-Shem and to emphasize the importance of resisting Christianity, even if this meant death. Certainly, we know of debates in the first half of the twelfth century and beyond, within Jewish, communities as to whether suicide was an appropriate response to Christian conversion. Which brings us back to how we should interpret the Hebrew Crusade Chronicles. Some see them as strictly historical accounts; others as not merely historical but educational texts for local communities; others as literary adaptations of Jewish polemics against Christian values and especially crusading ideals.

It is also interesting to note that the Hebrew Crusade Chronicles began to emerge in Western Europe just as the first Christian accusations of ritual murder by Jews began to circulate. This was the accusation that Jews deliberately seized Christian children and tortured and killed them in a re-enactment of the crucifixion. As Christians gained knowledge of Jewish chronicles they also became aware of the mass martyrdoms of the Rhineland during the First Crusade in which even children were killed. Some historians have argued that Christians, believing that through these martyrdoms Jews were deliberately denying their own salvation through conversion, might easily come to believe that they were capable of extreme violence not only against themselves and their own children, but against Christian children, in the latter case as the enactment of a mock crucifixion.

Interestingly in narrating the ritual murder charge at Blois in 1171, Ephraim of Bonn described the martyrdom of Jews following charges of ritual murder as a sacrificial act;

this suggests that Jewish writers might sometimes also use such events to advocate Kiddush ha-Shem. Furthermore, since the Jews in Blois had been accused of ritual murder, and had chosen death rather than conversion, Christian eyes might 'recognize' a connection between such accusations and the practice of Kiddush ha-Shem. For Christians that would have reinforced beliefs that Jews were capable of ritual murder. The emergence of this charge, as well as that of 'blood libel', and accusations of host desecration and magical practices by Jews at this period, coincided with and encouraged the developing notion that they were willing to plot violence against Christians. Hence it is possible that as Christians became increasingly aware of Jewish writing, this influenced their ideas and that the effect of crusading on the Jews may be directly connected with the development of charges of ritual murder.

That argument, however, is problematic. Although during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Christian intellectuals became acquainted with the Hebrew Crusade Chronicles, it is unlikely they were widely circulated or known among ordinary people. Indeed, even if they were, Christians were perfectly capable of building up negative images of Jews without recourse to them, particularly since such accounts were viewed with suspicion. Hence it seems unlikely that the chronicles directly influenced the growth of the accusation that Jews deliberately targeted and killed Christian children; more likely that tales Christians heard of Jews killing their own children to avoid conversion added to a more general growing hostility to Judaism.

Jews and the Third Crusade: The Jewish Reaction

As Bernard of Clairvaux later lamented, the Second Crusade ended in failure and resulted in the crusaders abandoning the siege of Damascus and surrendering to the Muslim leader Nur-al-Din. Yet less than thirty years later, Pope Gregory VIII, devastated by the news of the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, called for yet another military venture, this time to be organized by Archbishop Joscius of Tyre, and led by Philip II Augustus, Richard I, and Frederick I Barbarossa. This Third Crusade proved no different to its two predecessors in that preaching the cross provoked anti-Jewish rioting. Despite that, by contrast to Eugenius III's letter of protection for Jews before the Second Crusade, no such letter was issued by Gregory VIII on the eve of the Third. This meant that during the pontificate of Celestine III (1191–8) there were attacks on Jews in both Germany and England.

Celestine III made no reference to these attacks in his correspondence, but he must have been aware of the potential for violence. Indeed, his reissue of *Sicut Iudaeis* sometime between 1191 and 1198, appears to have been in response to a specific request from Jewish communities for confirmation of papal protection. During his pontificate one of Philip II's vassals was accused of murdering a Jew in the Champenois town of Bray-sur-Seine and, as a result, the Jewish community there sought the protection of Countess Marie of Champagne. The king, recently returned from the Third Crusade, hastened to the town and on his orders about eighty Jews were massacred. It is likely

that this event was brought to Celestine III's attention and further encouraged him to reissue *Sicut Iudaeis*.

Earlier, to fund the recovery of Jerusalem from Saladin, Frederick I had ordered a small tax on all Jews in Germany. Yet, perhaps mindful of the violence of crusaders as they swept through his kingdom during the First and Second Crusade, he protected Jewish communities and forbade anti-Jewish preaching. Nevertheless, crusaders attacked Jews in Mainz when the crusade was proclaimed and further violence ensued elsewhere. In January 1188, also in Mainz, a crowd invaded the Jewish quarter, forcing Jews to take refuge in the imperial castle of Münzenberg. Rabbi Moses ha-Cohen records how in March that year, as courtiers assembled for the 'Court of Christ', a mob again threatened to invade the Jewish quarter and the imperial marshal, Henry of Kalden, was obliged to intervene. Following a meeting between rabbi and emperor, in which they rode through the streets together to emphasize imperial protection, Frederick issued an edict threatening death or maiming for anyone who killed or maimed Jews. These returned to their city and further violence was prevented.

By contrast, however, in England the preaching of the Third Crusade led to sustained violence against Jewish communities. According to two contemporary sources, the Continuations of the History of William of Tyre and the *Chronica majora* of Matthew Paris, this crusade was funded by the 'Saladin tithe' to which both Christians and Jews were expected to contribute. According to Gervase of Canterbury, while £70,000 was collected from Christians, another £60,000 was collected from Jews; modern estimates suggest a lower figure of £10,000 from Jews, with perhaps another £2,000 in 1190. Certainly even if the medieval figures are unreliable, Jews were still forced to pay an exorbitant sum.

Several chroniclers recorded that violence in 1189–90 in England was directly associated with Richard I's preparations for the crusade and affected Jews in King's Lynn, Stamford, Lincoln, York, Norwich, and Bury St Edmund's. Ralph of Diceto observed that would-be crusaders again targeted these communities because they saw it as their duty to combat Jews in their midst before travelling to Muslim territories.

In response to this violence, Richard issued strict orders to his sheriffs that in future the 'peace of the Jews' was not to be disturbed. In this they were granted freedom of residence and of passage, the right to possess and inherit land, loans, and property, and rights in the court. Yet, since Jews were increasingly identified with moneylending, they suffered from both royal exploitation and mob violence. According to William of Newburgh, an Augustinian canon from Yorkshire, this came to a head when in 1189 two Jews from York—Benedict and Joceus—travelled to London to attend the king's coronation as part of a Jewish deputation. There, Christian resentment that Jews were allowed at the coronation, coupled with anger at the new crusade tax, sparked riots at the ceremony; Jews were attacked and violence spread to Lincoln, Norwich, Stamford, Bury St Edmunds, and also to York where, as we shall see, the Jewish response was extreme. The king was even falsely accused of having ordered a massacre there.

Although the events at York were recorded by those neither well disposed to Jews nor eyewitnesses, we can glean a fair understanding of what happened. Benedict was attacked and killed while returning home. And, a few months later, after the sheriff had left for the Third Crusade, a fire started in a city which was under royal protection. Some used this as an excuse to break into Benedict's house in Coney Street, to loot, and to kill. Having escaped a similar attack, and despite further looting, Joceus led his fellow Jews to seek protection from the keeper of the king's tower in York castle, almost certainly on the site of today's Clifford's tower.

According to William of Newburgh, however, the Jews were unable to retain the support of the keeper, and when he left the tower and was refused re-entry—this a challenge to the king's authority—they were trapped inside. Royal troops and a violent mob, pelted by the Jews inside, laid siege to the castle. According to several accounts on Friday, 16 March—the day of the Great Sabbath (Shabbat Hagadol) before the festival of Pesach (Passover)—the Jews finally realized that their efforts to hold out were in vain. In response to the threat of forced baptism, and like their predecessors during the First and Second Crusades, they decided on Kiddush ha-Shem, the father of each family killing his own wife and children before taking his own life:

> that most infamous Joceus, with a very sharp knife, cut the throat of Anna, his most beloved wife, and spared not even his own children. When this had been done by other men also, that most cursed old man cut the throat of Joceus, because he was more honourable than the rest. When all were killed, together with the leader of the crime, the fire which (as it was said) they had lighted when they were about to die, began to burn the interior of the castle. Those, however, who had chosen life, contended as well as they could against the flames, which had been lighted by their own people, in order that they themselves might die with them, though against their will; and they fenced themselves in certain extreme parts of the castle, in which they would suffer least from the fire. (William of Newburgh, *The History of English Affairs*, ed. J. Stevenson (London, 1861), p. 570)

Figures are unclear, but it appears that between twenty and forty families died, one later Jewish account suggesting as many as 150 individuals. As a consequence of having set fire to their possessions before committing Kiddush ha-Shem, the tower burnt down.

According to some accounts, Richard Malebisse, ringleader of the Christian mob, offered safe passage to any Jews who agreed to leave the tower and convert, but when the few who did embrace this option emerged from the burning tower they were quickly murdered. All records of the debts owed to the Jewish community, then housed in York Minster for safekeeping, were also destroyed. Subsequently fines of up to £66 were levied on fifty-nine families in York who knew those responsible for the massacre or had themselves taken part. It appears that crusading fervour made Christians sensitive to non-Christians in England and their feelings were often heightened by the approaching celebrations of Easter which reminded them that Jews were responsible for Jesus' death; of course the chance of clearing their debts to Jewish moneylenders enflamed the situation.

Jews, Innocent III, and the Fourth and Fifth Crusades

Unlike for the First, Second, and Third Crusades, there were no major pogroms against Jewish communities on the eve of the Fourth and Fifth. However, in Innocent III's crusading encyclicals *Post miserabile* of 1198, *Graves orientalis terrae* of 1199 and *Nisi nobis dictum* of 1200 calling for the Fourth Crusade, the papacy issued instructions for the first time about specifically Jewish moneylending to crusaders. Some have argued that this was a reaction to the rise in the number of such moneylenders, itself caused not least by the Church's condemnation of Christians who charged usurious rates of interest: as fewer became moneylenders Jews stepped in to take their place. Others, that Innocent was concerned to emphasize that Jews must play a subservient role in Christian society, hence went out of his way to curtail their rights and privileges. Although the crusade was called from a desire to retake Jerusalem, not Jerusalem but Constantinople was sacked in 1204 and there the Jewish community was brutalized by crusader violence.

Innocent's general letter *Quia maior* of 1213 calling for the Fifth Crusade also issued specific instructions about Jewish moneylending. Nevertheless, like his predecessors, Innocent continued to uphold Pauline and Patristic ideas about the protection of Jews, and forbade Christians, including crusaders, from harming their communities. Aware of the outbreaks of violence on the eve of the First, Second, and Third Crusades, Innocent was concerned the religious fervour engendered by his comprehensive preparations for the Fifth might lead to further violence. Accordingly he urged his legate, Robert of Courçon, preaching the crusade in France, to moderate his language about usury, not only because his preaching might discredit the crown and clergy who profited from it, but also fearing renewed violence against Jews. His successor Honorius III similarly declared that Jews must remit usury to crusaders, but also complained about the harassment of Jews by the countess of Champagne. Popes continued to call for both the protection and the restriction of Jewish communities.

Jews and the 'Barons' Crusade'

During the reign of Louis IX, new outbreaks of persecution against Jews surfaced in France. Following papal calls for renewed attacks on Muslims in the Holy Land—as in the 'Barons' Crusade' of Richard of Cornwall and Thibaut of Champagne—in 1236 there were attacks on Jewish communities in Anjou, Poitou, and Brittany, crusaders attempting forcibly to baptize Jews and slaughtering those who resisted. Contemporary and later accounts estimate that death toll as between 2,500 and 3,000, and although again such figures must be treated cautiously, the figure was likely in the thousands. According to Matthew Paris, Jews in France, frightened of mistreatment and imprisonment by nobles eager to extort money, petitioned the papacy for protection, and they obtained a ruling that 'they should not be disgracefully treated by kings or nobles in order to exact money, nor delivered into prison'.

8. Host Desecration by Jews. Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya.

Such papal action might be risky because the pope could be accused of accepting bribes for publishing his views, and of attempting to weaken the power of the crown and the nobility. We do not know if Matthew was referring to Gregory IX's reissue of the *Constitutio pro Iudaeis* of 1235 or to another letter of protection the following year, also following a complaint from French Jews. What we do know is that, although, like his predecessors, he remained concerned about usury, Gregory issued stern letters complaining about local massacres by crusaders and called on prelates and the king himself to protect Jewish communities and restore stolen property. The Council of Tours (1236) similarly issued decrees forbidding crusader violence.

Jews and the Crusades of Louis IX

Led by Louis IX of France, Robert of Artois, and Charles of Anjou, and under the spiritual guidance of the papal legate Odo of Châteauroux, Robert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Galeran bishop of Beirut, the Seventh Crusade achieved, albeit briefly, a degree of military success in capturing Damietta in Egypt. Yet in the lead up to the crusade in 1240 the preaching of Odo of Châteauroux displayed hostility to Jews, while the papacy continued issuing letters on crusaders and Jewish moneylending for the Seventh Crusade, as for the Eighth to Tunis. Even by the standards of his time, Louis IX

appears to have been particularly anti-Jewish, though there were no major outbreaks of violence against Jewish communities in Europe associated with his crusades.

The Reconquista and Jewish Communities in Spain

In the second half of the eleventh century warfare against the Almoravids in the Spanish peninsula became linked to the reconquest of the Holy Land, and the Reconquista became a religiously justified war of defence and liberation. The papacy recognized, however, that its support and justification for these campaigns against Muslims and its encouragement to Christians to fight the 'infidel' might have dangerous repercussions for Spain's large, well-integrated Jewish population. In his letter *Placuit nobis sermo* of 1063 Pope Alexander II praised those Spanish bishops who restrained those campaigning against Muslims in Spain from attacking Jewish communities. He distinguished clearly between wars against Muslims who attacked Christians and Christian territory—which were just—and violence against Jews whom Divine Mercy had saved and who everywhere were prepared to accept their servile status; that was unjust.

In the following year, 1064, thirty odd years before Urban II called for the First Crusade to the east, Alexander II also promised that those taking part in an expedition to recapture Barbastro would merit an indulgence for their sins. Indeed, from Barbastro onwards, popes granted such indulgences for Spanish campaigning. Yet it was not until the Council of Clermont—in 1095—that the Reconquista united Urban II's two distinctive crusading ideals: pilgrimage and defensive military service for Christ.

During the Second Crusade Eugenius III gave a much clearer definition to crusades in Spain in his general letter *Divina dispensatione*, broadening the whole theatre of crusading to include the Baltic and Iberia, as well as Palestine and Syria. However, throughout this period, despite papal protection, Jewish communities in Spain remained under threat.

Jews and the Albigensian Crusade

During the late twelfth and the thirteenth century popes became seriously disturbed by the perceived theological, social, and political threat posed by the Cathar heresy. In response and following the murder in 1208 of his legate, Peter of Castelnau, Innocent III proclaimed a crusade in the south of France. His view that not only heretics but also Jews posed a potential 'internal' threat to Christian society is clear from his correspondence. Indeed, it is possible that Innocent's determination to eliminate heretics only heightened his and others' sensitivity to Jews. Yet only a very small proportion of his correspondence and that of his successors Honorius III and Gregory IX about the Albigensian Crusade refers to Jews, and those letters that do are primarily concerned with usury. Nevertheless, one of the indirect outcomes of papal authorization of crusading was the formulation and reiteration of decrees by the French Church restricting the lives and livelihoods of Jews.

'Popular Crusades': Jews as Scapegoats

In the thirteenth century disappointment with the failures of highly organized nobility-led crusades encouraged spontaneous, 'popular' crusades such as the Children's Crusade (1212), and the Shepherds' Crusade (1251), spin-offs from the much larger 'official' activity. Popular preaching for the Albigensian Crusade authorized by Innocent III prepared the ground for the Children's Crusade, while during Innocent IV's pontificate the Shepherds' Crusade (or Crusade of the Pastoureaux) followed hard on Louis IX's disastrous campaign in Egypt.

Participants in these 'people's' ventures left no records, but we know that they arose from popular enthusiasm and demagogic propaganda, that they had no papal authorization or backing, indeed were not even supported by local clergy, many of whom were strongly opposed to what they considered to be uncontrolled mass hysteria. Probably most of the participants were peasant groups from the borders between France and the German Empire: men and women from the marginal classes of rural society—shepherds, labourers, wage earners, drifters, and younger sons—fired by increasingly fashionable ideas of apostolic poverty, and reacting to the preaching of the Albigensian Crusade and the calamitous results of the crusades of Louis IX. Such 'popular' crusades lasted only a few months and never reached the Near East, but they often led to mobs attacking Jewish communities.

The Children's Crusade did not generate attacks on Jews, even though the *pueri* passed through Chartres, Saint-Denis, Paris, and Saint-Quentin in Picardy, all towns with Jewish communities. By contrast, the Crusade of the Shepherds, similarly inspired by ideas about the power of the poor, the pure, and the young, resulted in pogroms against Jews. During the Seventh Crusade, an old Hungarian monk, known as the Master of Hungary, claimed that the Virgin Mary had given him a letter promising that the innocent and humble, not the rich and pious, would retake Jerusalem and that he should lead the shepherds of France to rescue Louis IX who had been defeated and captured in Egypt. Matthew Paris emphasized that this monk, a survivor of the Children's Crusade of 1213, was a rabble-rousing fraud and that the Shepherds' Crusade of 1251 had no papal authorization:

> There was a 60-year-old Hungarian…this imposter, who could speak French, German and Latin, wandered about everywhere preaching without papal authority or the license of any prelate, falsely claiming that he had received an order from Blessed Mary, the mother of the Lord, to summon shepherds and herdsmen…He said that heaven had granted them in their humility and simplicity the privilege of recovering the Holy Land…(Translation from *The Atlas of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (London, 1991), p. 82)

Chronicle accounts suggest that this army made up of poor peasants, including women and children, numbered 60,000 and that when it reached Paris, Blanche of Castile, Louis's mother and regent, quickly ordered it out of the city. After leaving, it then split up and unleashed pogroms in Rouen, Tours, and Orléans, while in Amiens and

Bourges, attacks on Jews were severely suppressed by the local authorities, and by the clergy through excommunication.

Moving into the fourteenth century, we also find similar 'peasant' violence against Jews. When in 1308 Pope Clement V appealed to Christian Europe to organize yet another crusade to the Holy Land, he unwittingly sparked the Popular Crusade of 1309, not least because he listened to the grandmaster of the Hospitallers who suggested that Jews should contribute at least a tenth of their property and even that their entire possessions should be confiscated to fund the crusade. Seizing the initiative, bands of disorganized crusaders, travelling through the Rhine and the Netherlands towards Avignon, attacked and killed Jews, some of whom may have been exiles from England and France, others German and under the protection of Jean II of Brabant. The duke intervened on their behalf, and at Avignon in 1310 Clement V ordered them to disperse.

A further Shepherds' Crusade in 1320 also produced anti-Jewish violence. Although by the early fourteenth century large-scale crusades to the Holy Land were over, Philip IV of France took the crusade vow, using it as an excuse for an extra tithe; on his death his son Philip V, who had taken the cross in 1313, in 1318 appointed Louis Count of Claremont crusade captain. This time the crusade inspired a teenage shepherd from Normandy who claimed to have been told by the Holy Spirit to fight Muslims in Spain. The rioting shepherds first marched to Paris to meet Philip, then went south encouraged by local sympathizers, attacking castles, royal officials, priests, lepers, and above all Jews.

At Avignon, knowing that Jews were being attacked and their property seized, Pope John XXII—though during his pontificate he called for the burning of the Talmud and expelled Jews from papal territory—condemned the shepherds and ordered them to desist. Chapter 14 of the *Shebet Yehudah*, a sixteenth-century account of the persecutions of Jews over many centuries, including their expulsion from Spain in the fifteenth century, described 'a gracious (*hasid*) pope who had good qualities' and whose 'leadership is of one who is a truthful man': 'hasid' implying both in biblical and post-biblical Hebrew, more than merely just, and suggesting that he went far beyond the letter of the law. This appears to be a reference to John XXII.

James II of Aragon also prohibited the 'shepherds' from entering Spain and instructed his nobles to keep Jewish communities safe. Yet at the fortress of Montclus in Barcelona over 300 Jews were killed before James' son Alfonso ordered those responsible to be executed. When in 1321 the movement eventually dispersed, there was a riot in Paris after Philip V had fined communities where Jews had been killed.

Conclusion

Throughout the late eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries we see that papal calls for crusades led to violence by crusaders against Jewish communities in different parts of medieval Europe. Too often we do not know the Jewish response. Yet

from both Jewish and Christian sources we can learn something of how some Jewish communities responded to these attacks—and something of the reception they received. Their response was to see their sufferings as a trial of their faith, to resist forced baptism, in the last resort to embrace martyrdom; above all to record and memorialize their sufferings in order to preserve Judaism for posterity.

CHAPTER 11

Crusades against Christians, c.1200–1350

NIKOLAOS G. CHRISSIS

'KILL them all; God will recognize his own'. These are the infamous words attributed to the papal legate, Abbot Arnold Amalric of Cîteaux, during the Albigensian Crusade against the Cathars in Southern France, when asked how the crusaders should treat the inhabitants of Béziers during the city's sack, in 1209, as they were uncertain who among them were heretics. Although the massacre at Béziers is a historical fact, these words were probably never spoken in reality—they were rather the fabrication of a Cistercian author, Caesarius of Heisterbach, in the context of a didactic tale about the risks of heresy. Nevertheless, they illustrate poignantly two key points: first, that crusading force was used also against other Christians; and, second, that there was an inherent ambivalence at the heart of such enterprises, namely how to tell friend from foe and how to justify turning the weapon of holy war against co-religionists. This conundrum was particularly pronounced when there was no evident cultural difference, no easily observable 'otherness', between the crusaders and their targets—as would often be the case in crusading against other Christians within Europe.

When the First Crusade was launched, in 1095, one of the main declared aims was to provide assistance to fellow Christians in the east who were said to be suffering from Muslim oppression. It is striking, then, that a century later crusading would be deployed repeatedly against co-religionists. Indeed, a number of crusades against Christians were proclaimed from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century both in the heartlands and at the peripheries of Latin Christendom. The image of armies under the sign of the cross, composed of soldiers who had taken sacred vows to fight for the faith in order to gain the salvation of their souls, directed by the Church to attack other Christians has aroused the fascination—and often, as we will see, the indignation—of observers from the Middle Ages to our time. This apparent contradiction requires some explanation.

We can broadly identify three types of such campaigns. First, crusades against heretics, i.e. those who were considered to have strayed from the proper faith as

1. Pope Innocent III excommunicating the Albigensian heretics and launching the crusade against them.

defined by the Church. The most famous case involved the Cathars in Southern France, but there were various other campaigns against (real or alleged) heretical groups in Italy, Germany, the Balkans, and elsewhere. Second, crusades against 'schismatics', i.e. those who did not recognize the proper ecclesiastical authority (primarily of the papacy) and had broken away from it. The accusation of schism was turned, most famously, against the Byzantines and all those who followed the Greek rite, including, at a later time, the Slavic people known as the Rus'. Finally, there were the crusades against lay opponents of the papacy (often dubbed 'political crusades'), who were perceived as threats to the safety and the interests of the Church, particularly in Italy. Among numerous such cases, arguably the best-known one was the fight against the German Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen and his heirs. It should be said, however, that the distinction between the three categories was generally blurred, as the same accusations could, and often were, used indiscriminately against all types of opponents. The key point was to demonstrate that the targets were, in fact, 'false Christians', who deserved punishment and/or containment.

In the past, these crusades were generally dismissed as a 'perversion' of—or, at least, diversions from—the original goal of crusading, which was the Holy Land and the fight against 'infidels'. In recent years, however, scholarship has come to examine them more thoroughly as an integral part of the crusading movement. It has been shown that they had broadly the same organizational characteristics as crusades to Outremer and to other fronts, including: papal proclamation, the grant of indulgences to participants, recruitment through preaching, crusade vows, privileges and legal protections for those signed with the cross, as well as particular forms of campaign financing. Furthermore, it has been argued by several scholars that contemporaries generally viewed these crusades as acceptable and comparable to those in other fronts,

even if there was also occasional criticism against them—a contentious point, to which we will return.

Origins and Justification

The turning point for crusading against Christians was the pontificate of Innocent III. In 1199, he proclaimed what is commonly viewed as 'the first political crusade' against Markward of Anweiler, a former lieutenant of the recently deceased Emperor Henry VI, whose ambitions in Southern Italy and Sicily brought him in conflict with papal interests. A few years later, Innocent would also be the first to authorize a full-scale crusade against heretics in Southern France, as well as grant crusading indulgences against the Byzantines in defence of the Latin states that had been created in Greek lands in the wake of the Fourth Crusade. After that point, and over the next two centuries, numerous crusades against Christians would spring up across Europe.

There were significant precedents in both theory and practice which made this development possible. First of all, the Church was faced with the difficult question of morality and religious censure of warfare ever since Christianity had been adopted by the governing and fighting elites. St Augustine, one of the most respected Catholic Church fathers, had set out the principle that a war fought for a righteous cause, proclaimed by legitimate authority, and conducted with the right intentions by the participants, was a just war. Furthermore, the right of the Church to wage war in order to defend itself or to extirpate heresy had been established in ecclesiastical law in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The canonical collections of the period, most influential among them the *Decretum gratiani* (*c.*1140), included provisions on the use of force against heretics and schismatics. At the same time, spiritual privileges, including the remission of sins and martyr status, had been promised to soldiers for fighting on the side of the papacy against its imperial opponents during the Investiture Controversy (1075–1122), but also for taking up arms against those who violated the provisions of the Peace and Truce of God. The latter was a movement, under the auspices of the Church, intended to regulate warfare and limit its impact, particularly on non-combatants; it had come about as a reaction to the endemic armed violence that plagued Western Europe after the collapse of the Carolingian Empire.

One of the earliest known occasions when absolution of sins was offered for fighting against other Christians was in 1053: it was promised to the soldiers in the service of Pope Leo IX against the Normans in Southern Italy. This was, in fact, earlier than the two most famous 'proto-crusades' when remission of sins was offered against Muslim opponents, in Barbastro in Spain (1063) and in the Pisan-led campaign at Mahdia in Northern Africa (1087). In the twelfth century, after the crusading movement had been set in motion, its defining elements were eventually transferred in conflicts within Christendom—although this process was relatively slow to come to full fruition. Two conciliar decisions in particular paved the way. In 1135, the Council of Pisa granted the same indulgence as for crusaders going to the Holy Land, to those who

would fight against Roger II, the Norman ruler of Sicily, who was in conflict with the papacy. The Third Lateran Council, in 1179, decreed that the plenary indulgence would be granted to those killed while fighting against *routiers* (bands of mercenaries who ravaged the countryside) or heretics and their supporters.

Nevertheless, the use of holy war against people of the same faith was potentially controversial and in need of additional justification. The main legitimizing argument, on the part of the proponents of such campaigns, was that Christendom's 'internal enemies' threatened the integrity of the faith and the security of the Church more than external foes. Furthermore, they were deserving of punishment for wilfully renouncing or perverting God's word, more than the various 'infidels', who at least had ignorance as an excuse. One of the leading ecclesiastical figures of the mid-twelfth century, Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, put it thus: 'Well, who deserves to be attacked more…, the pagan who does not know God, or the Christian who acknowledges God with his words but fights against him with his deeds?' This way, the notion of the *crux cismarina* (the 'internal crusade') came into being—by analogy to the *crux transmarina*, the crusade to Outremer. In the thirteenth century, when 'internal crusades' multiplied, the canonist Hostiensis asserted that such campaigns were, in fact, more reasonable than expeditions in distant lands, but less desirable for the simple-minded, who remained primarily devoted to the idea of delivering Jerusalem.

The comparison with the crusades to the Eastern Mediterranean was inescapable. Indeed, the legitimizing rhetoric for crusading against Christians consistently tied these campaigns to the archetypical Holy Land crusade in two ways: strategic connection and parallelism. On the one hand, it was often claimed that such crusades were directly connected to the fate of the Holy Land—for example that they were a necessary prerequisite for a campaign to the east, or that the targeted enemies were actively hindering the liberation of Jerusalem by collaborating with Muslims and other 'enemies of the cross'. On the other hand, there was widespread use of language and imagery that invoked a theoretical, symbolical, or rhetorical similarity with the Outremer crusades. For example, it was claimed that the enemies at hand (heretics, schismatics, etc.) were as bad as—or even worse than—the Saracens; or it was proclaimed that the participants would attain the celestial Jerusalem (even if not the earthly one). The aim was to establish in the minds of the audience the validity of these efforts, and convince it of their necessity, through explicit or implicit parallels with the campaigns for the Holy Sepulchre, which were universally accepted as meritorious. The grant of the plenary indulgence for these crusades, expressly qualified as 'the same as for the Holy Land', obviously served the same purpose.

All these elements can be seen already in the case of the crusade proclaimed against Markward of Anweiler: he was called 'another Saladin' (*alius Saladinus*) and described as 'worse than the infidel'; he was accused of allying himself to the Muslims who were present in Sicily and in Apulia; and it was claimed that defeating him and his supporters was essential for opening up the way to the Holy Land via Sicily, which would otherwise remain closed to the detriment of Jerusalem. The indulgence for those

2. Markward of Anweiler (d. 1202).
The campaign against him is widely considered as 'the first political crusade'.

who would fight against Markward was equated with that granted to those who took up arms against the Saracens in the east. Such arguments and language would be used repeatedly in crusades against Christians over the following centuries.

In fact, indulgences equal to those for the Holy Land had already been granted against Roger of Sicily in 1135, as noted above, and more recently in 1196–7 against Alfonso IX of León for allying himself with the Muslims against other Christians in Spain. But the grant of indulgences, although significant, is not adequate to consider these cases as full-blown crusades against Christians: crucially, there is no evidence of crusade preaching or of participants taking vows and being signed with the cross. In the case of Markward, there are indications that these characteristics might indeed have been present, although the evidence from the sources is patchy. However, there is no such uncertainty regarding the Albigensian Crusade which followed soon thereafter.

The Albigensian Crusade and Other Crusades against Heretics

In the eleventh and, particularly, the twelfth century there was a notable growth of heresy or at least an increasing awareness of and preoccupation with it, as is evidenced by the growing efforts to suppress it through ecclesiastic and secular legislation, as well as by force of arms. For example, in 1199, Innocent III equated the penalties for heresy with those for treason in Roman Law, including execution, disinheritance, and confiscation of property; the rationale was that a heretic was 'committing treason against God as a vassal might commit treason against his master'. Numerous sects and heretical movements had sprung up across Europe, usually calling for the moral reformation of clergy and laity; sometimes these groups sought the approval of the

official Church, but occasionally they adopted a violent anti-clerical tone rejecting it in whole as corrupt. The manifold factors that led to this development included an upsurge of popular piety in the era of ecclesiastical reform, contemporary socio-economic transformations, and the appeal of charismatic preachers. These movements were seen as a threat to the faithful, to the Church, and more generally to social order. It remains an open question whether this threat was real or largely a corollary of the ongoing centralization of ecclesiastical and lay power structures, which led to greater uniformity and intolerance towards deviations from the 'norm'. It is no coincidence that the thirteenth century witnessed not only the birth of anti-heretical crusading, but also the high point of what has been called the 'papal monarchy'—both of them essentially originating in the eleventh-century ecclesiastical reform. Whether the heretical multitudes existed in reality or were largely dreamt up by overeager clerics, the concern was tangible enough. As a result, the response of the authorities became progressively harsher. The physical punishment of alleged heretics was in principle reserved to the secular authorities, to which the clergy was expected to turn over those who refused to renounce their error. This was about to change with the introduction of crusading against heretics and their supporters.

The most 'dangerous' heretical beliefs were considered those held by the group commonly called the Cathars. Their presence is attested also in Italy, Germany, and Flanders, but it was particularly strong in Southern France (the Midi or Languedoc), in the region around the towns of Toulouse, Carcassonne, and Albi—hence also the term Albigensians. Their beliefs were apparently a form of dualism, positing the existence of a good god, lord of the spiritual world, and an evil god (or a powerful corrupted angel), lord of the material world. Thus, the Cathars rejected all material creation as inherently evil, and saw the liberation of the soul from its physical constraints as the loftiest objective. The purest among them (called *perfecti* or *boni homines* in the sources) renounced property, marriage, sex, eating meat, and most other material and carnal connections. They set an example and provided instruction to the other believers and were responsible for administering the *consolamentum* ('comforting'), the sacrament by which Cathars expected to be purified, often at their deathbed. Although the priority of the spirit over the flesh was in agreement with basic Christian beliefs, the complete renunciation of the material world meant that the Cathars rejected the incarnation of Christ and all the sacraments of the Catholic Church, considering the latter as a creation of Satan. It should be noted that scholars debate whether those were the actual beliefs of Cathars or merely the projections of their opponents and persecutors, given that most of our information comes from the latter or was extracted in the form of confessions under duress. It is similarly contested to what extent there was an organized 'Cathar Church', or even if 'the Cathars' existed as a coherent heretical group. Nevertheless, even if largely fictive, the belief that the Cathars held these views was cause for particular alarm on the part of the papacy. Even more so, as the heresy seemed to be widespread and deeply entrenched throughout Languedoc, not only

among villagers or merchants and artisans in towns, but also supported or tolerated by a significant part of the local nobility.

This brings us to another important element that came into play in the Albigensian Crusade: the Midi had its own cultural characteristics, including linguistic differences (the *langue d'oc*) by comparison to the north, along with a tradition for political autonomy from the French crown. Adherence to Catharism, in defiance of 'external' intervention could be considered, at least in part, as an expression of local identity. Even in the case of those who did not necessarily share the heretics' creed, as was probably the case with Count Raymond VI of Toulouse, there was greater identification with their own local population than with the generally 'foreign' members of the clergy or crusaders who came to impose the Catholic faith. Conversely, the crusade provided an outlet for the territorial ambitions of northern nobles, as well as a significant opportunity for the imposition of royal French authority in the south.

Catharism attracted the attention of the papacy from the 1170s. However, the effort to combat the heresy was first made through ecclesiastical censure and instruction, both by local clergy and by papal legates. Pope Innocent III also tried to involve the French king, Philip II, in the affair. Neither avenue proved successful. The turning point came with the murder of the papal legate, Peter of Castelnau, in 1208, by associates of the count of Toulouse. What followed was the excommunication of the count and the proclamation of a crusade by Innocent, including the grant of the same plenary indulgence for participants as for the Holy Land. The pope argued that the heretics were worse than the Muslims because they were within Christian society. In the operations, which started in 1209, the bulk of the army was made up from Northern French lords and their followers, and was led by Simon of Montfort, earl of Leicester, and the papal legate Arnold Amalric. The fighting went on for twenty years, with Innocent and his successors, Honorius III and Gregory IX, supporting it with renewed crusade calls.

We can identify at least three different stages. First, there was a period of decisive and rapid successes for the crusaders. Already in 1209, Raymond VI of Toulouse was quick to come to terms, promising his support to the suppression of heresy, in order to protect his territory; so, the crusading army turned against the lands of Raymond-Roger Trencavel, sacking Béziers and Carcassonne. More victories followed, alongside extensive bloodshed and mass burnings of heretics. By 1212, Simon of Montfort, who had taken over the lordship of Trencavel, was distributing lands to his followers, thus dispossessing the southern nobles. King Peter II of Aragon, a successful crusader himself against the Moors in Iberia, attempted to intervene in favour of the southern lords, in order to protect his claims of overlordship in the area. But he was defeated and killed at the battle of Muret in 1213. The triumphant Simon of Montfort was officially recognized as count of Toulouse by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), as Raymond VI was again excommunicated by the papacy.

The second phase consisted of a counterattack by the southern lords, who, from 1216 to 1225, reversed most of the crusaders' gains, reclaimed the largest part of their

3. The storming of Carcassonne by the crusaders and the expulsion of the Cathars from the city (1209).

territories, and helped restore Raymond VI in Toulouse. Simon of Montfort was killed in 1218; his son and successor, Amalric, failed to stem the turning tide and eventually fled to Northern France. The third phase saw the active participation of the French king in the fighting. Up to that point, royal involvement had been limited; Philip II had confirmed Simon of Monfort's new titles and lands in 1216, and Prince Louis had briefly participated in the campaign in 1219, but for the most part the Albigensian Crusade had been an undertaking of the feudal nobility. That changed when the prince, now King Louis VIII, led a large crusading army himself in 1226. Although Louis died a few months later, by 1229 the French crown had swept aside all resistance in the south and had forced the full submission of the new count of Toulouse, Raymond VII.

That was essentially the end of any significant fighting in the Albigensian Crusade, although there would be occasional military operations in the following years, such as the siege and sack of Montségur, the last significant Cathar fortress, in 1244. The crusade had dealt a crucial blow to the local power structures which had been largely supportive or acquiescent towards the Cathars. However, it did not eradicate heresy in the region. This was achieved by other means: primarily by the preaching activity of the newly founded mendicant orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, along with the papal inquisition, which was launched in the early 1230s by Gregory IX and quickly

became the preferred means of fighting heresy instead of the rather blunt weapon of the crusade. Indeed, the inquisition, through a combination of pastoral persuasion with physical and psychological violence, managed to dissolve the local and familial bonds that largely sheltered the Cathars within the local communities. By the end of the century very few traces of Catharism survived.

Even more successful than the eradication of heresy was the crusade's record in the imposition of royal French authority in Languedoc. According to the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1229), the county of Toulouse eventually passed into the direct possession of the French royal family, following the marriage of the French king's brother to the daughter of Raymond VII. Another legacy of the crusade was the foundation of the University of Toulouse, also in 1229, as an additional measure against the dissemination of heresy. Last but not least in terms of consequences, a precedent was set: anti-heretical crusading had been effectively set in motion in 1208 and there would be many more such cases to follow in the years to come.

It is somewhat of a paradox that Gregory IX, who effectively wound down the Albigensian Crusade, replacing it with the inquisition, was also the pope who initiated numerous other anti-heretical crusades in Europe. Gregory's pontificate exemplifies the proliferation of crusading against Christians in the thirteenth century, as it became the papacy's 'weapon of choice' for pursuing its objectives at the time, in Italy, Germany, the Balkans, and elsewhere.

4. The town of Béziers, a possession of the viscounts of Trencavel, one of the most prominent noble families of southern France.

The Balkans offer an interesting example. The dualist beliefs of the Cathars were said to have originated from the heretics called 'Bogomils' in Bulgaria and Bosnia—although this link has been challenged in recent scholarship. References to the Bogomils went back to the tenth century, but the connection between heresy and crusading in the Balkans was a later and rather limited development. In the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, local rulers, such as the Serbian Vukan, or the Latin emperor of Constantinople, Henry of Flanders, invoked the spread of heresy in the region, in order to get the papacy to intervene in the area in their favour. There was limited reaction: both Innocent III (in 1199) and Honorius III (in 1221) called on Hungary to take action in Bosnia, but not much came of these calls. Eventually, it was Gregory IX who called for a crusade against Bosnian heresy in 1234, and another one against the Bulgarian tsar, John Asen, in 1238, with the accusation of fostering heretics.

There are several commonalities between these two cases. Both were ostensibly against heresy, although political motivations played a crucial role: namely, the effort to impose Hungarian authority over the nominally vassal Bosnia in the former case, and the defence of the Latin Empire of Constantinople in the latter (an issue to which we will return). In both cases, the plenary indulgence was granted to participants, along with various other crusading privileges and protections. Both crusade calls were addressed to Hungary, which would stand to gain from any conquests. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) had decreed that rulers who did not rid their lands of heresy could be replaced by suitable Catholic lords, a provision which was used against the count of Toulouse during the Albigensian Crusade. In the same vein, in 1234, Duke Coloman of Slavonia, son of the Hungarian king, Andrew II, was called to replace the Bosnian ban Ninoslav, while in 1238 King Béla IV of Hungary was granted the territories of John Asen of Bulgaria, if he were to undertake the campaign against him. Both calls proved short-lived and did not make much of an impact. The crusade against John Asen never took place, on account of the hesitations of Béla and the change of policy on the part of the Bulgarian tsar. The Bosnian crusade only succeeded in temporarily wresting some Bosnian lands, before the great Mongol invasion of 1241 forced the Hungarian forces to withdraw. Finally, neither in Bosnia, nor in Bulgaria was there any significant follow-up crusading activity after the 1230s.

Gregory IX also called for crusades in Germany and the Low Countries, against allegedly heretical peasantry. In 1227 and more extensively in 1231, the pope had instigated inquisitorial proceedings, led by Conrad of Marburg, against heresy in the Rhineland. This was turned into a crusade call in 1233, with participants granted the Holy Land indulgence. Separately and in parallel, in 1232–4 the cross was preached and indulgences were granted for a campaign against the Stedinger peasants, who had been in conflict with their overlord, the archbishop of Bremen. A number of crusades were also proclaimed against various lords in Italy who were accused of heresy, starting in the late 1220s and 1230s. There was clearly a quickening pace in turning the crusade against other Christians with the accusation of heresy in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

5. Conrad of Marburg (d. 1233) played a key role in the instigation of the inquisition and crusading violence against heretics in Germany. Detail from a church window in St Elizabeth's Church in Marburg, thirteenth century.

In the majority of the aforementioned cases, the same language and metaphors were used as in the Albigensian Crusade, presenting heresy as a spreading disease, a danger to the body of the Church, describing the fight against it as uprooting the weeds that infested 'the Lord's vineyard', and so on. Indulgences were granted, often explicitly the same as for those who went to the Holy Land, along with other crusading privileges, indicating that from the legal point of view they were of equal merit to the more famous crusades overseas. However, most of these campaigns were local and relatively limited in their scope, and in several cases they never actually materialized beyond the initial call. Furthermore, it can be argued that, unlike the situation in Languedoc, heresy does not appear to have been the primary issue at stake and the main motivating factor leading to action: the latter often seemed to arise from local conflicts, where the ecclesiastical hierarchy attempted to impose its authority over an independently minded peasantry or to wrangle over property with lay lords—and, in the case of Italy in particular, the main triggers were challenges to the papacy and threats to the integrity of the papal states. It is also notable that in most cases outside of Italy, the initiative came from local actors rather than from the papacy, something which hints at the currency that crusading as a whole, and crusading against Christians in particular, had gained in the political landscape of the era.

Crusading against heretics continued well past the mid-thirteenth century. There were numerous campaigns in the following period, where fighting heresy was invoked as justification. Some crusade calls seem to have been indeed motivated primarily by a perception of spreading heresy (for example, in Piedmont in 1306–7 or in the Balkans in 1327)—although the inquisition was the more common recourse in such cases.

The Fight between the Papacy and the Hohenstaufen and Other 'Political Crusades'

Meanwhile, several crusading campaigns were launched against Christian rulers in the west who had clashed with the papacy. Though the term has been widely used in the past, calling these crusades 'political'—therefore, by implication, not 'religious'—is rather misleading. Politics and religion were inextricably connected in this period. There can be little doubt that the papacy used the crusade as a weapon against its enemies, particularly in the Italian peninsula, in conflicts where the starting point was not dogmatic divergence or the rectitude of beliefs and religious practices. Nevertheless, the liberty of the Church was thought to depend on preserving the security of papal lands: to attack the latter was to undermine the position of the pope, the vicar of Christ. This would put at risk the salvation of the faithful, which was the mission of the Apostolic See as the head of the Church—or so the argument went.

Although the first 'political crusade' is commonly considered to be the one against Markward of Anweiler in 1199, as already noted, the most famous and impactful one was the one directed against Emperor Frederick II and his heirs. Frederick was not initially an obvious target for a crusade. Having inherited his throne as an infant, after the death of his father at a young age, he had been placed under the guardianship of Pope Innocent III, who had helped him establish control over imperial territories, both in Italy and in Germany, against counterclaimants. As a ruler Frederick had instituted strict anti-heretical legislation in cooperation with ecclesiastical authorities. He was, in fact, expected to lead a crusade to the Holy Land, as he had taken the crusade vow upon his coronation. However, this is largely where the tension with the papacy started. Frederick's repeated postponements to set out for the east had led a progressively exasperated pope to threaten him with ecclesiastical censure if he did not fulfil his vow. In 1227, when the emperor finally set sail but immediately turned back, claiming an outbreak of disease on his fleet, Gregory IX excommunicated him. Extraordinary events followed. The excommunicated crusader emperor pressed on with his campaign to Outremer the following year, recovering Jerusalem through negotiations with Sultan al-Kamil of Egypt (1229); Frederick then crowned himself king of Jerusalem in the Holy Sepulchre, while being shunned by the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem and a large part of the local nobility. Meanwhile, the papacy launched an attack on the emperor's lands in the west, to be funded in part with crusading tithes. Leading the papal forces was John of Brienne, Frederick's father-in-law, whose rights to the crown of Jerusalem the emperor had largely ignored. Frederick hurried back from the east, swiftly defeating his enemies. A temporary peace with the papacy followed.

Dramatic events and forceful personalities aside, there were deeper and longstanding issues at play. The most crucial one was the papacy's determination to avoid having a strong and potentially hostile lay ruler in simultaneous control of Northern Italy and the kingdom of Southern Italy and Sicily, thus encircling the papal states and threatening the pope's autonomy. This had been the cornerstone of papal policy in Italy for

6. Emperor Frederick II being excommunicated by Pope Innocent IV.

centuries. Through the diplomatic marriage of his parents, Emperor Henry VI and Queen Constance of Sicily, Frederick II had inherited both Northern Italy, as part of the empire, and the Norman kingdom in the south. His falling out with the papacy made him a very dangerous enemy.

Nevertheless, the papacy was apparently hesitant to use the crusade against the emperor, and the process was gradual. In the first phase of the conflict, in 1228–30, Gregory granted remission of sins to the papal army, but avoided the precise terms of the crusading indulgence, while the soldiers did not carry the cross but fought under the banner of the Keys of St Peter, the emblem of the Apostolic See (hence this conflict is also known as 'the War of the Keys'). However, after the collapse of a tenuous peace between the two sides, in 1239, the pope called for a full-blown crusade against Frederick, including plenary indulgences, organized preaching of the cross, commutation of vows from the Holy Land, and extensive crusade funding. The emperor was proclaimed deposed, accused as patron of heretics, denounced for allying with schismatics and infidels, and called the harbinger of Antichrist. Particular reference was made to the Hohenstaufen's tolerance of the Muslim colony at Lucera, in Southern Italy. In the decades that followed, five successive popes proclaimed crusades against Frederick and his heirs. The papal-imperial clash was a momentous occasion which largely defined politics in Western Europe during this period. Neither side was able to emerge victorious until Frederick's death in 1250. The crusade was also used against his heir, Conrad, and then against Frederick's illegitimate son, Manfred, who rose to prominence in Southern Italy and allied with Ghibelline (pro-imperial) powers in the

7. Angevin victory over the Hohenstaufen in the 1260.

north. In order to counter this threat, the papacy enlisted the help of the ambitious Charles of Anjou, brother of the French king. With the full force of the papacy's crusading support behind him, Charles conquered Southern Italy and Sicily, defeating and killing Manfred in the process (1266); then, he defeated, captured, and executed Conrad's son, Conradin, who had invaded Italy in 1267–8. Thus, with the help of the crusade, the papacy eventually triumphed over the Hohenstaufen, while the French papal allies, the Angevins, took control of the kingdom of Sicily.

Henceforth, supporting and depending on the Angevins became the mainstay of papal policy in Italy. Most 'political crusading' over the next century largely stemmed, directly or indirectly, from the clash with the Hohenstaufen. For example, the crusade was turned against the North Italian lord Ezzelino III of Romano and his brother Alberico, in 1256, ostensibly as supporters of heresy, but essentially as allies of the imperial camp. Most importantly, the papacy used crusading to support the Angevins against their Aragonese opponents following the Sicilian Vespers (1282). The latter was a revolt in Sicily against French rule, aided by the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos and King Peter III of Aragon, who had inherited the Hohenstaufen claim over Southern Italy and Sicily through his wife. The revolt struck a crucial blow to Charles of Anjou's plans in the direction of Constantinople (see also below), particularly as it resulted in the Aragonese takeover of Sicily, limiting the Angevins to

mainland Southern Italy. The two powers would be locked in a far-reaching and complicated conflict for the following twenty years. In this context, the pope called for a crusade against Aragon itself, ceding the kingdom to a son of the French king, but the resulting invasion by Philip III of France in 1285 ended in a fiasco, costing the king's life in the process. A series of other crusades in Italy and Sicily were marginally more successful, managing only to stabilize the Angevin position in the mainland. Crusading against opponents of the papacy in Italy continued throughout the fourteenth century with mixed results—for example, against Venice in 1309–10, Emperor Louis IV the Bavarian in 1328–30, or the Estensi of Ferrara and the Visconti of Milan in the 1320s and the 1360s.

There were also crusading proclamations which were not directly linked with the Italian affairs, such as the ones targeting the English barons who had rebelled against their king in the 1210s and the 1260s. But even in this case, the starting point was that the English kingdom was nominally a papal fief, and the (by now familiar) argument was used that the barons hindered the cause of the Holy Land. On the other hand, the crusade proclaimed in 1330 against the mercenary Catalan company, which had established itself in Greece, was connected both to their allegiance to the Aragonese ruler of Sicily, and to the threat they posed to the Latin states in the former Byzantine lands, alongside the Greeks and the Turks. In this case, the Catalans were denounced as 'schismatics', probably alluding to both their Ghibelline sympathies and their alleged collusion with the Greeks. It would be useful, at this point, to turn to the examination of this term and its connection to crusading.

Crusades against 'Schismatics': Anti-Popes, Byzantines, and Other Eastern Christians

The accusation that the targets were heretics or schismatics (and occasionally both) was commonly used by the papacy when launching a crusade against Christian opponents. Technically, schism differed from heresy, as it referred to a break in ecclesiastical relations (or 'disobedience' from the point of view of the Apostolic See), rather than to significant differences on dogma or beliefs. However, it was often considered that there was a clear link between the two, and that the one would lead eventually to the other: 'there is no schism which does not fashion some type of heresy for itself', as was argued by St Jerome, one of the most respected Church fathers, and repeated by canonists in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In this period of growth for papal authority, it became more common to equate any disagreement or insubordination to the papacy with heresy. Significantly, this meant that the same instruments could be used against heretics and schismatics, including the crusade.

In fact, we find the accusation of schism at the very beginnings of crusading against Christians in the west. In the aforementioned grant of indulgences against Roger of Sicily in 1135, the justification was made on the grounds of his support for the 'schismatic' anti-pope Anacletus II against Pope Innocent II. There were several similar

cases in the following centuries, including: the crusade proclaimed by Boniface VIII in 1297–8 against the 'schismatic' cardinals from the rival Colonna family who had challenged the legitimacy of his election; the crusade against the supporters of the anti-pope Nicholas V who was installed by Emperor Louis IV; and, of course, the crusades proclaimed by competing popes, in Rome and in Avignon, against each other during the Great Schism of the Western Church (1378–1417).

More famous, however, is the association of schism with the relations between the Roman and the Greek Church. By the end of the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern period, in the perception of the Catholic world the Greeks and the other Orthodox were the schismatics *par excellence*. It should be noted, however, that the term was not widely used to refer to the Byzantines before the thirteenth century, and that the so-called Schism of 1054 was not the decisive and irreversible break between the two Churches that it was later claimed to be. Relations between the Byzantine Empire, the papacy, and other Latin powers fluctuated during the period of the early crusades. The Byzantines were generally seen as co-religionists and potential—if unreliable—allies against the Muslims. There were instances of tension with the crusaders in the twelfth century, including suggestions for an attack on Byzantium, but they were more commonly justified by the empire's alleged unwillingness to assist in the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre rather than by its supposed 'disobedience' to the Holy See.

Things changed after 1204. Although the Fourth Crusade ended in the conquest of Constantinople, it was neither proclaimed nor conducted as a campaign against 'schismatic Greeks'. It is true that the argument of disobedience to Rome was invoked when the Byzantine capital was sacked, but this appears to have been mostly *post factum* legitimization rather than a primary motivation for the diversion of the expedition. Nevertheless, after Latin states were created on Byzantine lands, a series of crusades were called for their defence. In order to justify the fact that the opponents were Christians, namely the Greek and Bulgarian states in the region, particular emphasis was given to their 'schismatic' status, along with the argument that holding on to these lands was essential for the liberation of Jerusalem. This legitimizing rhetoric was consistently promoted, up to the early fourteenth century, both by the papacy and by the Latin authorities in Greece. The proclamation and preaching of these crusades, in fact, helped solidify western perceptions of the Greeks and the other Orthodox Christians as schismatics.

The first crusade call came in 1205, as Innocent III urged the faithful to help stabilize the Latin Empire of Constantinople. This was merely a year after the conquest, while the pope had previously resisted and condemned the diversion of the Fourth Crusade towards the Byzantine capital. This swift reversal is explained largely by practical considerations, as Innocent tried to regain control over developments in the east; but we should not discount the contemporary view that the seemingly 'miraculous' feat of the conquest could have only been achieved with divine approval. Furthermore, the direct association with the cause of the Holy Land, which was the ultimate crusading objective, arguably accounts for the quick deployment of the plenary

8. Seal of Baldwin II, Latin Emperor of Constantinople (1228–73). This bilingual seal, in both Latin and Greek, mixes Byzantine and Western iconographic elements. It thus encapsulates the dual nature of a state that was created through the crusading conquest of Byzantium in 1204 but also claimed to be the legitimate continuation of the Byzantine empire. Baldwin II led a crusading army in 1238–9 to relieve Constantinople from its 'schismatic' and 'heretical' opponents.

indulgence on this front: by comparison, Innocent only called for a full crusade against the heretics in Southern France three years later.

Innocent's successors followed broadly the same policy of proclaiming crusades for the defence of Frankish Greece, while the rhetoric progressively focused more sharply on the 'schismatic' enemies. Honorius III called for a crusade in support of the beleaguered kingdom of Thessalonica (1222–5), which however arrived too late to save it from falling to the Greeks of Epirus. Gregory IX expanded the use of crusading mechanisms and proclaimed the most ambitious crusade in the area, in 1235–9, in defence of Latin Constantinople, which was besieged by the joint forces of John Asen of Bulgaria and John III Vatatzes of Nicaea. Gregory also explicitly invoked the threat of heresy in justifying the use of crusading force both against the Bulgarian tsar, as we already saw, and against the Byzantines. He argued, in 1238, that 'the Greeks, carried by the river of schism from the Church of God to the Synagogue of Satan,…have fallen into the abyss of heretical depravity'. In this, he went farther than his predecessors or his successors who only spoke of schism. The crusading army that eventually arrived, under the Latin Emperor Baldwin II, only achieved modest results in the vicinity of Constantinople.

The defence of the Latin Empire was proclaimed among the main priorities of Latin Christendom at the First Council of Lyon (1245) but this did not avert the Byzantine reconquest of Constantinople in 1261. A new crusade that was proclaimed to restore the Latin Empire and protect the principality of Achaia produced no tangible results other than complaints in the west about the taxes imposed to fund it. After Charles of Anjou took control of the kingdom of Sicily in 1266, he was also placed at the head of efforts to defend Frankish Greece and reclaim Constantinople. Despite papal support for his plans, apparently no crusading indulgences were granted for them. Nevertheless, Angevin rhetoric drew heavily from the preceding crusades in the area, including the theme of schism, presented through the image of the body of the Church

Universal deformed by the loss of the 'exalted limb' of Constantinople. To counter the threat against Byzantium, Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos first turned to negotiations with the papacy, resulting in the Union of the Greek and Catholic Churches at the Second Council of Lyon (1274), which effectively disqualified the Greeks from becoming crusade targets as they could no longer be considered schismatics. Then, when the pro-Angevin Pope Martin IV annulled the union, Michael was involved in the conspiracy that led to the overthrow of Angevin rule in Sicily (the 'Sicilian Vespers', as already discussed). This way the 'political crusades' in Italy intersected with the crusade against 'schismatics' in Greece.

Although the ensuing Angevin-Aragonese conflict drew attention and resources away from Byzantium until 1302, new efforts by claimants to the Latin Empire arose soon afterwards, presented again as crusades aimed at bringing the schismatic Greeks back to obedience to the Catholic Church. However, these plans came to nothing, despite papal support which included crusade indulgences and funding. From the 1330s there was a significant change in the political equilibrium in the area, with the rise of Turkish power on the coast of Asia Minor and then in the Balkans. There would be no more crusades against the 'schismatic' Byzantines, as the Turks became the primary target of crusading in the area. The last major crusading expeditions in the east (Nicopolis 1396, Varna 1444) were aimed not at conquering Byzantine Constantinople but rather at protecting it against the Ottomans. Even then, however, the Greeks were expected to renounce their 'schism' before receiving any western assistance.

9. Chlemoutzi (Clermont) Castle in Achaia, stronghold of the Villehardouin family, rulers of the principality of Achaia in the thirteenth century.

The Byzantines were not the only eastern Christians targeted by crusades. The already mentioned crusade against the Bulgarian Tsar John Asen in 1238 featured the accusation of both schism and heresy. Crusading support was also provided to Louis I, the Angevin king of Hungary, for his operations against Serbia in the mid-1350s and against Bulgaria in 1368, with both enemies branded as 'schismatics'. Another pertinent case takes us from the Balkans and the Aegean to the north-eastern edges of Europe. Crusading armies made contact with the Rus' in the context of the manifold expansion of Latin Christendom towards the Baltic and beyond. This expansion included commerce, proselytization, conquest, and colonization. Crusading had been part of this process since the mid-twelfth century, but more systematically and intensely from the thirteenth century onwards. These northern crusades involved lay and ecclesiastical authorities from all neighbouring Christian powers (the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire, the Scandinavian kingdoms, and Poland), as well as individual adventurers and, crucially, the military order of the Teutonic Knights, who established their headquarters in the region in the mid-thirteenth century. Although the main targets of crusading in the area were the non-Christian, 'pagan' populations (allegedly because they threatened new Christian converts there), the Latin expansion eventually encroached into territories under the control or influence of the Russian principalities of Novgorod and Pskov.

Modern Russian national—and nationalistic—historiography has made much of an alleged all-out attack of the Catholic west on Orthodoxy, particularly with regard to the clash between the Teutonic Knights and Novgorod in 1240–2, as immortalized in Sergei Eisenstein's classic film *Alexander Nevsky* (1938). However, the historical reality is rather more pedestrian. In fact, occasional rhetoric aside, no crusade was turned against the Rus' for most of the thirteenth century. It was only at the turn of the fourteenth century that they started to be consistently presented as 'schismatic' enemies, occasionally compared to the Saracens; but even then they featured primarily as subordinates to the main 'pagan' antagonists in the area, whether Mongols or Lithuanians, against whom crusades were proclaimed. Furthermore, from the point of view of the papacy, the Rus' were rather a secondary afterthought by comparison to the main 'schismatics' of the Greek Church, of which the former were merely followers. However, the Christianization of Lithuania, at the end of the fourteenth century, left the Rus' as the most prominent non-Catholic local power. It was only after that point that they became the main targets of crusading rhetoric but also in practice, at least on the occasion of the Teutonic Order's wars against Novgorod in 1443–8 and against Pskov in 1480–1. But although the 'schismatic' status of the Rus' was invoked in the corresponding propaganda, it appears that the primary considerations for these conflicts were territorial and economic. Crusade indulgences for fighting specifically against the 'schismatic' Rus' were only issued in the early years of the sixteenth century, and for a limited period, against the rising power of the grand princes of Moscow. Therefore, actual crusading against them was rather scarce in the medieval period.

Conclusion: Impact and Reception of Crusades against Christians

The last major crusades against Christians in the Middle Ages were those against the Hussites in fifteenth-century Bohemia. Branded as heretics by the papacy, the Hussites found themselves on the receiving end of no less than five crusading expeditions in 1419–36, which however ended in defeat. The conflict involved not only religious belief and practice, but also various other local, political, social, and ethnic aspects, particularly the antagonism between the Czech and the German elements in Bohemia. The sixteenth century witnessed a partial revival of crusading against 'internal' enemies of Christendom, particularly after the Reformation kindled the fire of religious wars across Europe. The Spanish Armada, in 1588, was launched and portrayed as a crusade against England. However, the use of the crusade against Protestants was inconsistent and rather marginal in the overall picture of these momentous developments, which, in any case, are outside the scope of the present chapter. The irreversible fragmentation of what had been medieval Latin Christendom, as well as the advancing secularization of politics and warfare, would eventually make crusading an irrelevance in terms of actual policy making, even though related rituals, symbols, and rhetoric would survive long into the modern era—and would be rather infelicitously revived even in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Crusading against Christians peaked in the period from the early thirteenth century to *c.*1430. Many of these campaigns were rather anaemic, sometimes remained only on the level of planning or proclamation, and not infrequently met with little success or were downright disastrous. However, there were also some very striking results, including the absorption of Languedoc in the French royal domains, the downfall of the imperial house of the Hohenstaufen, and the conquest of the kingdom of Sicily by Charles of Anjou, leading to the installation of a long-lasting Angevin dynasty there. Nevertheless, the papacy never achieved its objective of securing unchallenged control of Central Italy, while the crusade became only one of the various strands of the Guelf-Ghibelline conflict in the peninsula.

It has long been argued that launching these campaigns eventually took a significant toll on the prestige and spiritual authority of the papacy, as it was perceived that it was involved in 'ungodly' temporal squabbles, using the weapon of holy war in order to further its interests. Indeed, there were occasions when confusion, if not downright derision, was bound to be the reaction of the faithful. The sight of conflicts in which both sides were signed with the cross to fight 'enemies of the faith' was unlikely to reinforce the credibility of the cause. In the centuries that followed, the targets and victims of these crusades have often been seen in a more positive light than those who instigated or took part in them—in rather striking contrast, it must be said, to 'traditional' crusading against the Muslims, at least until recently. This was particularly the case with a major strand of Protestant historiography and historical memory which saw these 'heretics' (the Cathars, the Waldensians, and most of all the Hussites) as precursors of the Reformation, essentially proto-Protestants, suffering for their

righteous objections to the overbearing authority of the papacy and calling for the moral reform of the too-worldly Church and clergy. The use of crusading against the popes' temporal antagonists seemed to confirm this assessment.

Academic historiography in the nineteenth and most of the twentieth century took a similarly negative view, considering these crusades as 'perversions' of the original crusading ideal. More recently, however, several historians have pointed out that contemporary evidence overall does not support the idea that this was indeed how the *crux cismarina* was viewed at the time; if anything, they argue, the reputation of the papacy was hurt more by the fact that many of these crusades were unsuccessful, as it reinforced the idea that God did not favour them, rather than by the act of calling for them in the first place. The question hinges on how crusades against Christians were perceived and received by contemporaries.

Criticism against such campaigns included the accusation of diverting resources from the Holy Land, complaints (particularly by the clergy) about the burden of repeated taxation to fund these expeditions, and only very occasionally the condemnation of the papacy for making war against Christians instead of fighting the Muslims and other 'infidels'. For example, during the Albigensian Crusade, the troubadour

10. The Dominican Peter of Verona was murdered in 1252 while acting as an inquisitor in Lombardy. In this fourteenth-century fresco by Andrea di Bonaiuto da Firenze in the Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence, he is depicted arguing against heretics. At his feet one can see the symbolic representation of the faithful (as sheep), the heretics who threaten them (as wolves) and the Dominicans who protect the former from the latter (as dogs).

Map 3. The Aegean region.

Guilhem Figueira sang: 'Treacherous Rome, avarice leads you astray /…Rome you do little harm to the Saracens, / but you massacre Greeks and Latins, / In hellfire and perdition you have your home Rome.' However, this type of criticism came primarily from those who were made targets of these campaigns or from those who were hostile towards the papacy for other reasons. Figueira came from Languedoc and was forced to flee his homeland on account of the crusade. Similar statements by 'disinterested' or even otherwise pro-papal parties are rarer but not altogether absent. Richard of Cornwall, brother of King Henry III, took an oath along with other crusaders at Northampton, in 1239, not to be diverted from the Holy Land to 'spilling Christian blood in Italy and Greece'. Although this act certainly implied a negative view of crusading against fellow Christians, the main point was that Outremer took priority. During the fourteenth century, Marino Sanudo Torsello, an ardent crusade supporter and propagandist, although generally reverential towards the Apostolic See, criticized its crusading policy in Italy, calling instead for efforts to be concentrated on Outremer.

Yet, by and large these crusades were accepted as legitimate, not only by the papacy, but also by most secular powers and arguably by the majority of the faithful, often unquestioningly. This was particularly the case with crusades against heretics or non-Catholic Christians—perceptions were generally more ambiguous when it came to lay opponents of the papacy. Enthusiasm and response to papal calls varied and is often very hard to quantify on the basis of the available evidence; but it seems that on certain occasions it was indeed quite extensive. Many clerics preached and many knights fought in crusades both against Christians and against Muslims, without doubting the value of the former. The plenary crusading indulgence had the same weight, whether it was offered for 'internal' or 'external' crusades. Nevertheless, it seems incontestable that the Holy Land crusades took precedence in the minds, hearts, and imaginations of most contemporaries, over any other crusading ventures. Even when crusades against Christians were considered valid and desirable, they were generally evaluated by reference to the crusades for Outremer—which were the yardstick by which other campaigns were measured.

CHAPTER 12

Literature, Chronicles, and Songs

MARIANNE AILES

PEOPLE have always used stories to make sense of the world around them, and songs to express their emotional responses to that world. The crusading era was no different. Over a period of around 300 years some writers exalted the crusades or sought to justify them; others criticized the motives of those who took the cross, or who refused to do so; yet others presented stark images of the horrors of war. While some demonized the enemy, others highlighted their nobility.

Crusading was integral to medieval thinking and the medieval understanding of the past; it, therefore, figures extensively in the medieval imagination. As today, while some literature is unashamedly escapist, much is infused with ideology or is politically engaged. The literature of the crusades could be didactic or lyrical; it could be factual, fictional, or a mixture of the two. But these are modern definitions. Contemporaries may have viewed the division between the factual and the fictional as less stark than it is for us, or rather have seen different kinds of truth in different kinds of text, in quite a sophisticated way.

This chapter focuses on vernacular literature, on works which were certainly disseminated through the written word, but in many cases also sung, or perhaps read aloud. Moreover, Latin and the vernaculars were not completely separate: translation, both from and into Latin, and transposition of Latin prose into vernacular verse led to widespread diffusion of some narratives. The same tale might circulate in different languages in the same geographical area or polity, notably in multilingual medieval England. French, a language widely understood, was a major vehicle of dissemination, but narratives and legends of the crusades were often transnational. This chapter is therefore not organized by language or country of origin nor separated into 'fictional' and 'factual'. The first part of this chapter examines texts where the crusades are at the heart of the narrative—largely chronicles, epics, and lyric poems; if we take the crusades out of these texts there is little left. This is followed by a discussion of texts where crusading is either the ultimate chivalric challenge or primarily a penitential activity, but is not the only focus: a different activity or adventure could, in some cases, take the place of crusading. A short final section examines ways in which some texts mix humour with the seriousness of holy war.

Literature Which Has Crusading as Its Main Focus

Chronicles, narrative accounts of events in more or less chronological order, are the most obvious literary product of crusading. Latin chronicles provide us with much of the narrative of early crusading, including the calling of the First Crusade in 1095. Such narratives, written by churchmen for those who were literate in Latin, are an important source for what happened, but they are also subject to the literary norms of the genre. That medieval chroniclers did not claim to offer an impartial account in some ways makes them easier to interpret, any propagandistic purpose of the chronicle made evident.

The earliest French-language chronicle presenting a crusading narrative is the *Estoire de la guerre sainte*, a verse narrative of the Third Crusade of 12,313 lines written by a Norman who names himself Ambroise and may have been a chaplain in the train of Richard I of England. He gives us an early (possibly the earliest) use of 'the Lionheart' as a soubriquet for Richard, who is one of his main heroes. Reading Ambroise's text leaves the reader convinced that Richard was everything that legend ascribes to him: heroic, sometimes to the point of being a little foolhardy, charismatic, and an inspiring leader. For Ambroise, Richard stands in stark contrast to his crusading ally Philip II Augustus, king of France, who returned early from the Holy Land.

Ambroise's account claims to have the authority of an eyewitness, and has didactic elements, but he also sets out to engage his reading and listening public in an entertaining manner. He begins his narrative with Richard taking the cross in 1187 and continues until the king leaves the Holy Land in 1192, but also includes events he does not claim to have seen. Crusading armies were besieging Acre before the kings of France and England arrive, and Ambroise, with a historian's understanding, insists that for his reader to understand what happens next, we need first to know the context, what they found when they got there. This allows him to enliven his account with a series of short anecdotes of events at Acre, from which he distances himself because he was not there. These stories convey a message and tell a higher truth than that of mere facts. One set of such anecdotes emphasizes the suffering of the besieging army and another stresses God's support. This includes the account, no doubt intended to amuse, of the crusader literally caught with his trousers down as he answered nature's call when he was attacked; doubtless to his further relief, he manages to escape his attacker and even fight back, slaying the Turk with a stone. Another anecdote recounts how an enemy warrior, intending to use Greek fire to set alight the siege engines of the crusaders, accidentally spills it on a tender part of his anatomy. Such tales are carefully separated from the eyewitness narrative of the crusade; they did not necessarily happen, but may be stories which circulated among the crusaders, used by Ambroise to enliven his account and above all demonstrate God's intervention on their side.

Ambroise's bias towards Richard and his army is very evident throughout, although he is prepared to acknowledge some positive qualities in Saphadin (al-ʿAdil), the brother of the Muslim leader, Saladin. A notorious incident in the Third Crusade

occurs after Richard and the crusaders have taken Acre. Negotiations with Saladin over the prisoners and the return of a relic of the True Cross, taken at the battle of Hattin in 1187, have collapsed and Richard decides to have all his prisoners, men, women, and children, killed outside the walls of the city. This act of inhumanity has blighted Richard's reputation since, and Ambroise goes to great lengths to blame Saladin for not redeeming his people, rather than Richard, who is placed in a dilemma, burdened by prisoners he can neither care for nor dispose of.

Ambroise's text is written in rhyming couplets, with extensive wordplay so beloved by medieval writers and readers. He seems to revel in his use of language, sometimes with considerable humour: for example, describing the emperor of Cyprus, he puns on the Old French *empereor* (emperor) and the verb *empirer*, 'to make worse', making up the word *empireor*—one who makes things worse. Ambroise draws on the narrative traditions of heroic poetry in his depiction of the characters, and direct speech dramatizes events and offers (imagined) insights into the minds of major participants. Thus Richard, torn between his duty to God on crusade and his own realm, left in the charge of his brother John, is addressed by a chaplain in a long monologue reminding him of how God has blessed the enterprise to date. This is articulated in highly rhetorical couplets, with a repeated injunction 'King remember…' structuring the speech, as the chaplain recalls how God has blessed the crusaders with success so far. No one would imagine that the king was really addressed in rhyme or that these were anyone's exact words. The chaplain, a William of Poitiers, has never been identified and the whole incident may be made up; indeed, the opinions expressed read like those of the chronicler himself.

Ambroise is probably a source for another chronicle, in Latin, covering a more extensive period, and also claiming to be a first-hand testimony, the *Itinerarium et gesta regis Ricardi*. Eyewitness chroniclers often also borrowed from other written accounts. We know, for example, that the various accounts of the calling of the First Crusade are interconnected. What might surprise us more as modern readers is to find a translation from the vernacular to Latin, the more prestigious language, but this is probably about target readership as much as anything else: a narrative in Latin would have reached a church-educated readership. Later, in the thirteenth century, an Anglo-Norman writer produced a short prose chronicle, also supportive of the king of England, named by its modern editor as *The Crusade and Death of Richard I*; this is in part a translation of the Latin chronicle of Roger of Howden. Translation in both directions played its part in establishing Richard the Lionheart as a figure of derring-do, the embodiment of the warrior-king.

Crusading supplied an important catalyst in the development of historical writing in the vernacular. Early Old French narrative, including Ambroise's chronicle, was always written in verse. The first prose texts in French are both crusading chronicles, two complementary perspectives on the Fourth Crusade, which ended with the sack of the Christian city of Constantinople. Geoffrey of Villehardouin, one of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade, wrote his *Conquête de Constantinople* in part as an *apologia* of the venture.

1. Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople* (*c.*1330 Venice).

He was involved in negotiations with the Venetians for boats to convey the crusading army, a negotiation which would put the crusaders in the Venetians' debt and lead to an attack on the Christian city of Zara. Villehardouin had insights into the decision making. He uses direct speech to provide the reader with the gist of the negotiations. As with the rhyming couplets of the direct speech used by Ambroise, these speeches

would not have been understood by any contemporaries as verbatim but would dramatize the encounter for the readers. Moreover, Villehardouin's account tallies with the evidence we have from documentary sources.

Giving a very different perspective is Robert of Clari's *Conquête de Constantinople*. The writer is an ordinary knight, not party to the deliberations of the leaders. His writing style is not sophisticated and his range of vocabulary limited, but it is very direct. It is unusual to have such an account not taken from an official perspective. Both Villehardouin and Robert of Clari dictated their prose narratives to a scribe. The equation of literacy with any level of culture is a modern one which is not pertinent for this period and the physical act of writing was not the same as composition.

Before this point, not only were all French chronicles in verse and probably written by clerics, they all emanated from the Anglo-Norman sphere. These two prose texts represent a change: Robert of Clari was from Picardy in Northern France and Villehardouin was marshal of Champagne. With Ambroise, Villehardouin, and Robert of Clari, we have what are presented as eyewitness accounts written in the vernacular and thus apparently intended for a wider, non-clerical audience.

These French chronicles are concerned with journeys to the east, albeit, in the case of the Fourth Crusade, a journey which never got as far as the Holy Land. For vernacular accounts of crusades in the Baltic we have to turn to the Germanic texts. The *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* (after 1290), probably written by a knight of the Teutonic Order, provides an important account of the crusades to Livonia. It was written in Middle High German, the language of Southern and Central Germany, and draws on vernacular epic for its imagery, though the image it paints of war is grim rather than celebratory.

With some of these vernacular chronicles it is difficult to assess how widely they were disseminated. Several survive in only single manuscripts: there is one manuscript only of the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, one manuscript of Clari's *Conquête de Constantinople*, and a single manuscript plus two fragments of Ambroise's *Estoire*. A paucity of manuscripts of a particular text does not necessarily mean it was not widely circulated, though the fact that, for example, the manuscript and both fragments of Ambroise's text are in the French of England may suggest it was not known outside Anglo-Norman circles.

No such issue arises with the late-twelfth-century Latin chronicle of William of Tyre; the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (*History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*), was written in the Holy Land, but found its way to Europe and heavily influenced the writing of a number of later chronicles. William's account is authoritative for the period up to 1184. It was translated into French in the early thirteenth century, ensuring even wider diffusion. Most of the manuscripts of the vernacular text include one of three surviving continuations: It was not unusual, in an age before copyright legislation, for chronicles to be extended down to the date of copying. A closely related chronicle in French known as the *Chronique d'*Ernoul, survives only in a mixed form, combining in an abridged form material from the continuations of William of Tyre with narrative attributed to one Ernoul, a squire, a prominent Outremer family, the Ibelins; it is valuable for offering a different perspective, that of a family settled in the Holy Land.

One of our major chronicle sources for the mid-thirteenth-century crusades of the French King Louis IX, John of Joinville's *Life of Saint Louis*, dealt not only with the crusades as Joinville was writing a biography, indeed more of a celebration, of the saintly king. Here crusading is one aspect of a life dedicated to God. Joinville accompanied Louis on the first of his two crusading expeditions, and there is a real sense here of a first-hand account as Joinville frequently tells the reader he has noticed or observed things. While Villehardouin and Clari are both very economical in their narration (though Clari does expand on the wonders of Constantinople) Joinville includes descriptions of the habits or dress of those he encounters. He also tells us something of his own emotions on leaving his home and children, the kind of affective reflection for which otherwise we often depend on the lyric poetry.

Epic Poetry and the Poetic Chronicle

Epic poetry, which in French was in the form of *chansons de geste* (narrative poems in monorhymed or assonanced verses of varying lengths), explored issues around crusading in a variety of ways. In French these texts were usually set in the pre-crusading past, often in the time of the ninth-century Frankish emperors, Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. Charlemagne in particular was transformed into a crusading king.

The *chanson de geste* was a politically and ideologically engaged genre. The historic enemies of the crusaders become 'Saracens', a term which encompassed any non-Christian, whether Arab, African, Turk, Moor, or Slav. The religion of this 'Other' is a construct in many ways contrary to the actual tenets of Islam; rather it is a distorted mirror image of Christianity, with idol worship and a trinity of gods, usually including 'Mahomet' plus two others, Tervagant and Jupiter being among the names used. This construct is established in the earliest texts in the twelfth century but persists into the later Middle Ages when there was a much greater knowledge of Islam, at least among the literate elite.

The earliest *chansons de geste* coincide with the First Crusade. The oldest surviving text, the *Chanson de Roland*, is thought to have been written down in something approaching its current form around the beginning of the twelfth century. As in many French epic poems, the theatre of war is Europe rather than the Holy Land, perhaps reflecting a growing fear of Muslims on the very borders of Christendom. Set in Northern Spain it gives a fictionalized version of Charlemagne's military defeat in the battle of Roncevaux which took place in the Pyrenees in 778. Charlemagne was returning from a campaign in Spain, where he had been supporting a Muslim ally, when a group of Basques attacked his rearguard. This was transformed into a crusade against the Moors of Spain.

When the poem opens Charlemagne has been in Spain for seven years and taken the whole land apart from Saragossa. The Saracen leader, Marsile, sends a false message of submission to Charlemagne. Readers and listeners know that Marsile is not to be trusted but the Franks, reinvented as crusading Christians, decide that they must accept

Marsile's submission and therefore prepare to return to France. Charlemagne looks for a volunteer to send his message back to Marsile but will not permit his closest advisors and best warriors to go because of the risk. The nomination of Ganelon by Roland, his stepson and Charlemagne's nephew, is agreed by all to be a good one. Ganelon, having quarrelled with Roland, departs on his mission. Filled with anger against his stepson and bent on personal revenge, he plots with the Saracens to launch an attack on the rearguard, confident in his knowledge of Roland that he will not call for help. All transpires as Ganelon had hoped, up to a point. The Saracens attack Roland, his companion peers (twelve leading advisors to Charlemagne), and the rearguard, near Roncevaux in the Pyrenees. Roland refuses to sound his horn, the Oliphant, until he knows he has given everything, that they have paid the ultimate price. Roland himself dies a heroic death, with his face towards the enemy, his soul taken directly to heaven by the angel, Gabriel. Charlemagne arrives too late to save the rearguard, but takes revenge on Marsile, and then defeats Marsile's overlord, Baligant, in single combat.

The combat represents the ongoing fight between good and evil, presented as a trial by combat, the outcome demonstrating the rightness of the Christian cause. The heroes are buried, and Charlemagne and his army return to France, taking with them Marsile's widow Bramimonde to be instructed in the Christian faith. Ganelon is finally found guilty in a trial by combat and condemned to execution by being pulled apart by four horses. The *Chanson de Roland* thus seems to tidy up all the loose ends, like a nineteenth-century novel, but there is a final twist: a messenger arrives to tell Charlemagne of a new Saracen attack and the emperor must go to the rescue; Charlemagne weeps. This surprising ending reminds the reader and the listener that the conflict between Christian and non-Christian continues, or indeed, more metaphysically, that good and evil will be in conflict until the end of time.

There is implicit crusading ideology, expressed more explicitly in the preparation by the Christian rearguard before they engage in battle as the Archbishop Turpin asks them all to confess their sins, and then urges them to fight well, as their penance. This tale of conflict and betrayal, however, shows the greatest threat to come from within the Christian army itself.

Fighting the Saracens in Italy or Spain is the focus of a number of *chansons de geste*. Like the *Roland*, the *Chanson de Guillaume* (*Song of William*), also probably composed in the first half of the twelfth century, is set in Spain as is *Fierabras*, a particularly popular *chanson de geste*, composed in its surviving form shortly after the Third Crusade. It exemplifies many aspects of the crusading epic including the figure of the noble Saracen, a type which increases in popularity after the Third Crusade, possibly due to Saladin's reputation as a worthy opponent.

The extant *Fierabras* begins *in media res*. Charlemagne is in Spain seeking to recover from the Saracen Emir Balan some relics stolen from Rome. Balan's son Fierabras, who is 15 foot tall, issues a challenge to the French knights to engage in single combat with him. Though wounded, Oliver responds. The combat which follows is a classic of the French *chanson de geste* genre. The two combatants exchange words before they exchange

55.
z er brochen von ir gebote
dar zů ware ſi die abgote
vnder hunde vñ vnder ſwin.
die die holten ſolten ſin.
Appollen vnd mahmeten.
die hiez vnd die vöte treten.
vnd einen der hiez tervigaunt
d n den here ſi gwaun.
Ir flizer ein michel teil.
der gelnez ovch ir vil grae heil.
daz der kvne den ſig narme
vnd gröliche wider qvarme
den fragte ſi my mare
wa ir herren arn ware.
do gwariger alſ ein ander ſtein.
dez hvp ſich zwiſchen in zwein.

2. The death of Marsile *c.*1290. This image of Bramimonde shows the Saracen queen looking like a beautiful Western woman with long blonde hair. She is at the bedside of her injured husband, the Saracen king, Marsile, and supervising the destruction of Saracen idols in the form of animals.

blows. Throughout the combat, Fierabras displays chivalry and respect towards his opponent. Defeated, he requests baptism but when Oliver is taking him back to the Christian camp, they are ambushed by some of the Saracen army. Christian knights manage to rescue Fierabras, but the skirmish ends with Oliver and four of the other peers being taken captive by the Saracens (two in the Anglo-Norman—that is French of England—redaction of the narrative). The remainder of the narrative follows the adventures of the peers and the attempts by Charlemagne to recover both the peers and the stolen relics. Charlemagne initially sends the remainder of the peers to rescue those being held by the Saracens, and at the same time demand the relics. However, Balan's response is to imprison all the peers together. Held in captivity, the peers are rescued by Balan's daughter, Floripas, who is in love with one of their number, Guy of Burgundy. Floripas frees and equips the peers who then eject the Saracens from their own stronghold. The pagans then besiege the peers within that stronghold. A magic girdle prevents the besieged from starving. The Christian relics, brought out by Floripas, are held up to dazzle the besieging army. After various adventures Richard of Normandy escapes to take a message of their plight to Charlemagne who comes to the rescue. The Saracens are defeated; Balan refuses baptism and is killed; Floripas is baptised and marries Guy who will then rule Balan's kingdom with Fierabras.

With its combination of the heroic and the humorous, its combats and supernatural intervention, a beautiful and feisty princess, whose exploits included defenestrating her governess, this tale fired the imagination of writers throughout the Middle Ages and beyond and was translated into most medieval European languages. A thirteenth-century prequel telling how the relics were first taken from Rome by Saracens includes giants, and Saracens described almost as beasts. It presents the crusaders' opponents in a way which fits all our stereotypes of medieval intolerance. The chivalrous Saracen converts; his father refuses conversion and is summarily killed. However, not all *chansons de geste* conform to this. Even in the *Chanson de Roland*, Roland's utterance, often quoted as the epitome of western intolerance, that 'Christians are right and pagans are wrong' did not transfer to 'Christians are good and Saracens are bad': some Saracens are depicted as thoroughly evil, but so are some Christians. Other *chansons de geste* of the thirteenth century and later would also explore more nuanced and complex relationships with the Saracen. In the thirteenth-century *Chevalerie Ogier*, for example, Ogier the Dane defeats a Saracen champion, Karaheu but when the Saracen refuses conversion he is allowed to go on his way with professions of friendship from Charlemagne, who regrets Karaheu's decision but does not force conversion onto him.

Translations and adaptation of the Charlemagne narratives are found across Europe. The canonization of Charlemagne by the anti-pope, Paschall III, in 1165, though not subsequently recognized by the Church, was more important in the Germanic world than the Francophone and emphasized the construct of Charlemagne as a crusader. Some of these narratives about the Germanic emperor, such as the *Rolandslied* by the priest, Konrad (*c.*1170), were adaptations of the French *chansons de geste*. Germany did also have its own traditions, both historical chronicle accounts of his reign (in Latin)

3. Balan refuses baptism (1338–40). The Saracen emir, Balan, identifiable by his characteristic crown, and naked for baptism by full immersion, refuses to be baptised and strikes the archbishop. As a consequence of this refusal of baptism he will be killed. The crowned knight holding him is probably intended to represent his son Fierabras (in this manuscript Fierenbras).

and vernacular texts which incorporate mythic material and more frequently present Charlemagne as a crusader *avant la lettre*. These include the twelfth-century verse *Kaiserchronik*. Charlemagne's wars in Spain feature prominently in this narrative, with the Christian-Muslim conflict emphasized; the sources for this include the *Chanson de Roland* and the twelfth-century *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* (see below).

4. The giant Estragot kills the Roman defender Savari during a Saracen attack on Rome (1338–40). Note that the 'Saracen' giant is depicted like a beast with an animal's head and tusks, but dressed as a knight and crowned like a king. Savari's banner breaks out of the frame of the image.

Spain, which had a more ambivalent attitude to Charlemagne than France, had its own crusading epic hero in the Cid, though the surviving twelfth-century poem (*El poema del mio Cid*) draws heavily on the French *chanson de geste* tradition in the way it is written. The historical eleventh-century Castilian warrior Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar was not a crusader and fought alongside as well as against the Moors, but, like Charlemagne

in the French tradition, is transformed in the extant poem into a crusader. Like some of the French heroes, notably William, count of Orange, the focus of one cycle of French poems, Rodrigo's poetic avatar is treated unjustly by his king. The poem thus explores the two major themes at the heart of many of the French epic: crusading conflict and relationship between a lord and his vassal.

These epic poems are sometimes considered to be crusading propaganda, and for many texts this is the case, in that as they may, as in the *Chanson de Roland*, articulate crusading ideals, and, indeed, show crusaders earning their salvation through martyrdom. At the same time, many also show the cost of crusading and the devastation brought about by war. This is nowhere more true than in the *Chanson de Guillaume*. The young hero of the first part of this poem is William's nephew Vivien. Having made a rash vow that he will never retreat in battle by as much as the length of a lance, Vivien ends his life in distress, wandering the battlefield, holding onto his entrails which are falling out of an abdominal wound; desperately thirsty, he drinks the brackish water from the battlefield. Vivien's suffering is depicted in as much detail as his heroism. This is far from the glory of Roland's death, where the emphasis is on his soul ascending to heaven.

A small group of *chansons de geste* bridge chronicle and epic poem, presenting in *chanson de geste* form the narrative of the First Crusade, with some less factual developments. In their surviving form these date from the thirteenth century but there was certainly an older, now lost, version of the *Chanson d'Antioche* which gives a lightly fictionalized account of the First Crusade up to the defeat of the Turks, led by Corbaran, a fictional avatar of Karbugha. The narrative draws heavily on the First Crusade chronicles of Albert of Aachen and Robert the Monk but is written using the literary conventions of the epic tradition. Though not a genuine eyewitness account, the *Chanson d'Antioche* offers an insight into the growing myths around the first crusade and the nature of collective memorialization.

The *Antioche* forms a cycle with other texts, the kernel being the *Antioche*, a *Chanson de Jerusalem* taking the story forward, but with less factual content than the *Antioche* and, linking the two, a shorter narrative, *Les Chétifs*, which provided some light relief with its more fantastical narratives, including a man-eating monster. Later narratives were more folkloric and focused on the early life and mythical ancestry of the crusading leader Godfrey of Bouillon who is presented as a descendant of the Swan Knight. Another epic poem in *chanson de geste* form about the taking of Antioch, known as the *Siège d'Antioche* presents itself as a translation of Baldric of Bourgueil *Chronicle of the First Crusade* and cleverly weaves together the historic narrative with motifs from the *chanson de geste* tradition.

Occitan, a different romance language used in the south of France, also had an epic tradition centred on the First Crusade; there is evidence of a twelfth-century Occitan poem by one Gregory Bechada, now lost. However, all that survives in Occitan is a fragment of nineteen *laisses* known as *Canso d'Antioca*, and some echoes of the same text in a Castilian compilation of the later thirteenth century, the *Gran conquista de Ultramar*. This latter text was a compendium which translated French and Occitan sources,

5. The opening of the *Siège d'Antioche*. showing a city under siege with defenders on the wall, archers firing into the city, and two young men preparing to launch a catapult (13th century).

mixing the historical and the fictional, drawing on chronicle and epic, including crusade cycle texts. It was translated into Catalan and Galician Portuguese. Again, we see that narratives and texts were readily appropriated and adapted for different literary traditions. Occitan is also the language of the *Canso de la Crotzada* (*c.*1275), an anti-Cathar song in *chanson de geste* form about the Albigensian Crusade which had been fought in the south of France in the first half of the twelfth century.

The Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle

One prose text, which is presented as a chronicle, but drew on the fictional world of French epic poetry would take the western world by storm. Originally written in Latin in the twelfth century, the *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi* (Story of Charles the Great and of Roland) would be translated into Old French and then into Anglo-Norman in the early thirteenth century, and later adapted into other vernaculars, including Irish, Welsh, old Norse, and Franco-Italian. It is known as the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* after its supposed author, the Archbishop Turpin, who, in the *Chanson de Roland* is with Roland and the rearguard at the battle of Roncevaux and is killed there. In the *Pseudo-Turpin* he survives the Spanish campaign and is asked by St James himself to write in Latin an account of Charlemagne's wars in Spain, including the battle of Roncevaux. The earliest copy of this text, dated probably to the 1130s or 1140s, is associated with the pilgrim route to Compostela. The *topos* of a one-to-one combat is important here with Roland taking on the Saracen giant Ferracutus. In the epic poems it is assumed that winning indicates the favour of God and thus ultimately the truth of Christianity. This is stated explicitly in the *Pseudo-Turpin* where the giant Ferracutus states that they should fight on the understanding that '…if the faith which you affirm is true, then I shall be defeated, and if it is false, then I should conquer you' (ll. 824–5 of the Anglo-Norman *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* of William of Briane). The giant asks Roland to explain certain aspects of the Christian faith to him, including core tenets of Christianity, such as the doctrine of the Trinity and the crucifixion of Christ. These are issues that reflect genuine Muslim objections to Christianity. The clerical author of the original Latin makes it clear that he knows some basics of the Islamic faith, especially that there is only one God. The Saracen Ferracutus insists that 'We believe…that the Creator of heaven and earth is one God; as he did not beget any so is he not begotten, and so he is one God, not three' (ll. 756–8 of the Anglo-Norman *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* of William of Briane).

Another episode of Charlemagne's wars in Spain evoked in both the *Pseudo-Turpin* and a *chanson de geste* is his battle with Agoland. This conflict is narrated in the late-twelfth-century *chanson de geste Aspremont*, in which a relic of the True Cross is carried into battle, possibly alluding to the loss of such a relic at the battle of Hattin (1187). In the *Pseudo-Turpin* the Saracen leader is used to shame the behaviour of Christians as he refuses baptism after seeing how the poor are treated at Charlemagne's court.

Fantastical Romances

In some of these narratives we have seen an interplay between fact and fiction. In some texts, such as the later crusade cycle poems around the ancestors of Godfrey of Bouillon, fiction becomes fantasy. Among the most fantastical narratives in crusading literature are two Middle English romances.

The Middle English verse narrative of *Richard Coeur de Lion* (*c.*1300) has some distant recollections of historical fact, in that Richard goes on crusade at the same time as

6. A scene from *Aspremont*. The Christians and Saracens are not visually differentiated; that the Christians are fighting from the left can be seen by the prominence of the cross. That a relic of the True Cross is carried into battle is an important feature of this text (mid-13th century).

Philip of France, and there are echoes of the conflict between Richard's crusading host and the emperor of Cyprus and the king's participation in the siege of Acre. Most of the rest, however, is sheer fantasy. Richard's mother (in reality Eleanor of Aquitaine) is a princess of Antioch who, forced to attend mass, flies away through the roof. Before Richard departs for crusade he makes a pilgrimage, incognito, to the Holy Land. His behaviour is neither pious nor chivalrous: he seduces the daughter of the king of Almayne who sets a lion on him. Richard kills the beast by ripping out its heart, which he then eats, with salt, before his captor, hence (according to this narrative) acquiring his nickname 'lionheart'. When on crusade, attacking Acre, Richard falls ill and demands pork. Unable to procure any, his men cook instead a young Saracen. The king eats the meat with relish and finds his strength is restored. When he later demands to see the head of the pig, he is shown the head of the Saracen, and responds with laughter. In some epic poetry the difference between the larger than life hero and the giant is a thin one; in *Richard Coeur de Lion* Richard crosses that line and becomes monstrous, absorbing the strength of the lion and then of the Saracen by literally eating the flesh of his enemy. It is worth noting, however, that the most extreme episodes of this romance are lacking in some manuscripts, so may not have been well received. This text also includes the scene which is famously depicted in the tiles found in Chertsey Abbey, Richard in single combat against Saladin. The two never actually met in battle, yet the conflict between them is part of our imaginary construction of the Third Crusade.

The King of Tars is an extraordinary Middle English romance from the early fourteenth century. It addresses the taboo of interfaith marriage, with some understanding that women would often have little choice in marriage partner. To ensure peace and limit bloodshed, the princess of Tars reluctantly agrees to marry the pagan (Saracen) king of Damascus who is attacking her father's land. A vision of Christ in a dream reassures her that she is doing the right thing. While at the Saracen court she pretends to worship with her husband, but in her heart remains a Christian. She conceives and gives birth to child who is a shapeless being. Both parents pray to their respective God to no avail, but a Christian priest is brought from prison and baptises the child, at which point the child is physically transformed to proper human form. The father, the king of Damascus, then converts and is also changed, his black skin turning white. This text is both extreme in its depiction of the Other as less than human and unusual in the need for a physical transformation of the non-Christian. The earlier epic poems either depict the Saracen who will convert as being physically not very different from the western Christians, or have no expectation of physical change taking place. For example, Fierabras is not reduced in size when he converts, but remains 15 foot tall. Saracen women are often described in terms of western beauty.

For the modern reader these fantastic romances embody our deepest concerns about crusading, with the *King of Tars* the most extreme in its rejection of the religious and racial Other. These two romances are found together in a famous collection of Middle English romances, the Auchinleck manuscript, now in the National Library of

7. The opening of the Middle English poem *The King of Tars*. On the left we see the king of Tars before his conversion praying before an idol; on the right we see him at a Christian altar praying with his wife the queen. Auchinleck manuscript (1330s).

Scotland (Advocates MS 19.2.1). The manuscript as a whole has something of a pious bent, with a number of saints' lives, as well as two different versions of the Guy of Warwick romance, and two Middle English translations of crusading Charlemagne texts, *Roland and Vernagu* and *Otuel a Knight*. Such tales offer not so much models of behaviour but encouragement to piety.

Myths of Saladin

If Richard in *Richard Coeur de Lion* can become monstrous while remaining heroic, Saladin could become heroic while remaining an enemy. From early on there was an element of respect for those on the opposing side. In some cases, this was little more than admiration for their warrior abilities. Qualified respect was expressed for some Saracens in texts as early as the *Chanson de Roland* where the Saracen Baligant's nobility is not quite realized because he remains unconverted. The noble Saracen is established in the *chanson de geste* tradition, but in most twelfth-century texts this is often a signal that he is likely to convert. From about the time of the Third Crusade we find writers and narrators increasingly trying to come to terms with the reality of an enemy who displays laudable characteristics but is not assimilated into western Christian society through conversion. Saladin and Richard I of England, leaders of opposing sides in the Third Crusade, seem to have both elicited respect from Christian and Muslim. Early western texts, more or less contemporary with Saladin, whether in Latin or the

vernaculars, are often negative about the Muslim leader. Ambroise's negative portrayal of Saladin can be connected to his desire to exculpate Richard I for the massacre of the inhabitants of Acre; the related Latin *Itinerarium* is no more positive. The thirteenth-century *Crusade and Death of Richard I* is also critical of Saladin. However, even early texts give evidence of Saladin's reputed generosity, though writers such as William of Tyre and James of Vitry see this as calculating, buying friends and allies.

Some narratives mix fact and fiction in attempts to reconcile the respect owed the Saracen leader and his status as one who is theologically in the wrong. One persistent narrative, surviving in different accounts, explained Saladin's virtues by ascribing western Christian ancestry to him, in some accounts his mother, in others his great-grandmother, being a Christian noblewoman. In the most complex of these narratives, *La fille du Comte de Ponthieu* (early thirteenth century), the daughter of the count of Ponthieu is travelling with her husband when they are set upon by a band of robbers; she is raped. She feels so ashamed that her husband has witnessed this that she tries to murder him. However, she fails, and they return to Ponthieu. The lady is blamed when the events become known, particularly by her father, and she is cast adrift in a sealed barrel. The barrel is recovered by some merchants on their way to trade in a Saracen land, and the (unnamed) daughter of the count is rescued, then handed over to the sultan of Almeria who marries her. She accepts her fate and abjures her faith. Like the princess in the *King of Tars*, her submission implicitly acknowledges the vulnerability of a single female without the support of her family. She bears the sultan two children, a son and a daughter. The trigger which allows her to escape is the remorse of her father-in-law and brother who, as penance for their treatment of the lady, take the cross and end up as the sultan's prisoners. The noble woman, despite having been wronged by them, engineers their escape and her own, taking her son with her but leaving her daughter to be raised among Saracens. This daughter would become the grandmother of Saladin. Such ancestry gave Saladin a western Christian heritage: he was noble because he was by inheritance partly Christian.

Other narratives had Saladin seek Christian knighthood. The early-thirteenth-century French-language poem the *Ordene de chivalerie* (*Order of Chivalry*) presents Saladin as seeking instruction in Christian knighthood from a prisoner, Hugh of Tiberias. Hugh takes him through all the steps of becoming a knight, thus providing the reader or listener with full instruction in the theory of knighthood, but refuses to give him the final accolade on the basis that he cannot be a real knight because he is not a Christian. Saladin recognizes Hugh's principled attitude and has him released. This is not far from the approach of the *Roland* to Baligant in that his nobility is not complete without conversion. The attitude in this text to Saladin is a very ambivalent one. On the one hand he is almost worthy of knighthood, but on the other, he is described as being like a stinking midden. This probably articulates the ambivalence of many western Christians to those who were at once like them and yet different: Saladin was, to the western Christian, in the wrong place before God, yet there was much to be admired in him.

This narrative was fiction, built on a slender factual premise, the actual capture of a Hugh of Tiberias by Saladin's army, and his release after a short captivity. The thirteenth-century verse narrative was later turned into prose, first later in the thirteenth century and then in the fifteenth. It survives in continental French and the French of England; there was also a Middle Dutch version *Van den Coninc Saladijn ende van Hughen van Tabaryen*, and it was certainly known in Italy.

Some texts have Saladin undergo a form of conversion through auto-baptism. The *Récits d'un ménéstrel de Reims* (1260) gives a narrative of the Holy Land after the First Crusade, with a focus on the kings of France and England. The minstrel includes Saladin on his deathbed asking for a basin of water which he uses to baptise himself, making a discreet sign of the cross to hide what he is doing. This fantasy can be seen as an extension of the converted noble Saracen type encountered in the epic poems, where Saracens of noble demeanour, such as Fierabras, fulfil their potential by converting to Christianity.

Other tales do not go as far as having Saladin convert but portray the Muslim leader as seeking to weigh up the respective merits of the three main religions of the time (Islam, Judaism, and Christianity). The constructed debate between practitioners of different religions, intended to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity, is a feature of western Christian tradition, from the time of Peter the Venerable whose *Adversus Judaeorum inveteratum duritiam* (*c.*1140) depicted a discussion between a Christian and a Jew. The famous Catalan writer Ramon Llull used such dialogues as part of his missionary endeavours. His most famous, the *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis* (*Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men*; 1270s) recounts a Gentile (pagan) instigating a debate with representatives of Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. The Gentile is to pronounce on the most convincing, but surprisingly we are not told his decision. It is as though Llull assumed that the answer would be evident to his readers. As the text was first written in Arabic, before being translated into Catalin and Latin, this seems rather optimistic.

This debate tradition is integrated into the story of Saladin in the thirteenth-century *Estoires d'Outremer*. Saladin, on his deathbed, invites the patriarch of Jerusalem, the caliph of Baghdad and wise Jews from the kingdom of Jerusalem to each present their faith. Unable to choose between them he endows each of the three religions with a portion of his wealth. The fifteenth-century prose *Saladin*, a *mise en prose* of a now lost *chanson de geste*, appends a ritual of self-baptism to an account of the debate between representatives of the three religions where Saladin is apparently convicted of the truth of Christianity.

Tales which show Saladin hedging his bets by offering gifts of similar value to all three religions are at best ambivalent in their attitude. Narratives like that of the *Estoires d'Outremer*, or the account in Jans Enikel's rhymed *Weltchronik* (*World Chronicle*; 1170s and 1180s) where Saladin divides a valuable sapphire table into three, each part donated respectively to a synagogue, a mosque, and a church in Jerusalem, suggest that Saladin believed he could buy his salvation.

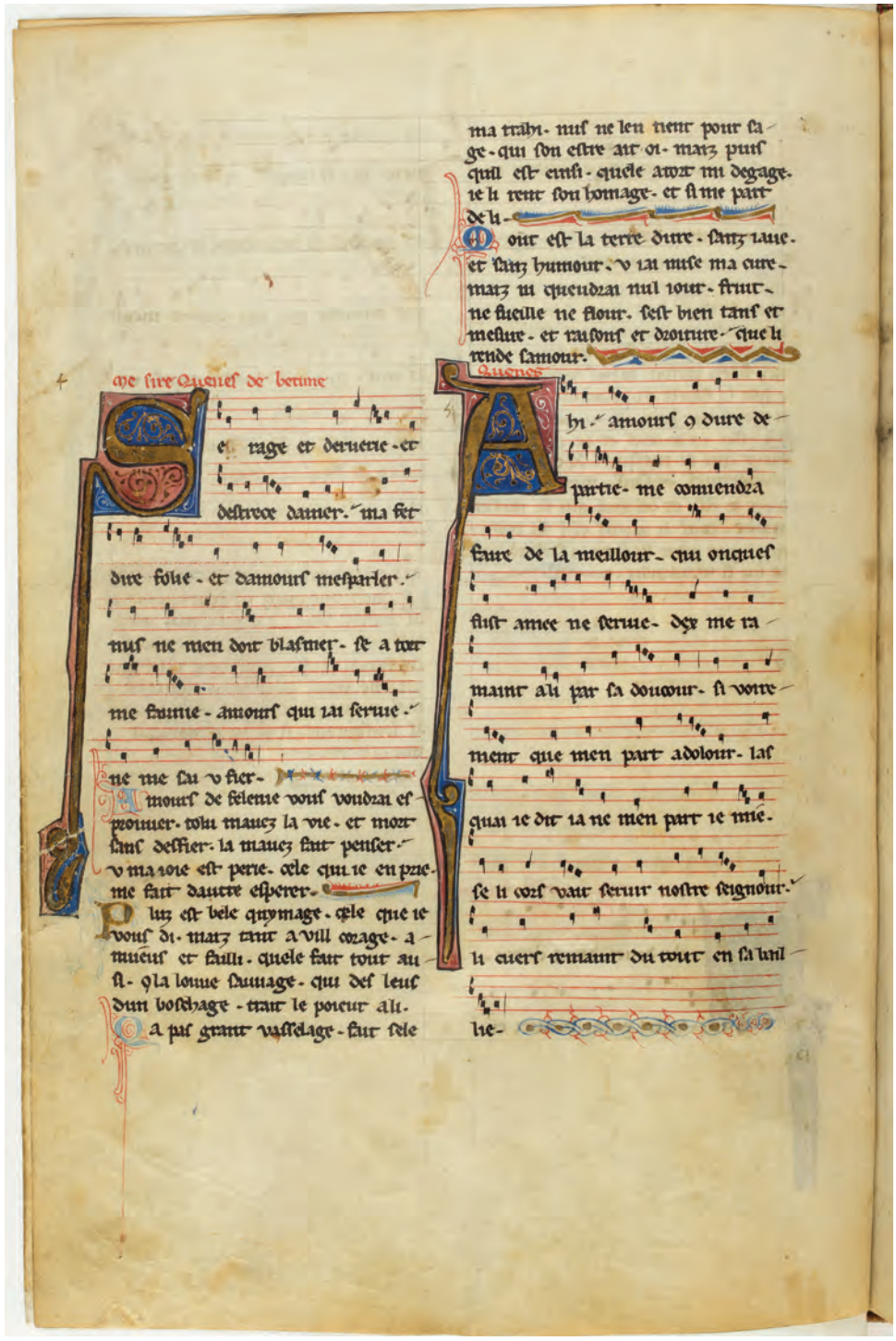
Stories of Saladin which are at least ambivalent and often positive about the Muslim leader, were found across Europe, in German, Italian, and Spanish sources, as well as Latin, French, and Middle English. Dante placed Saladin in Limbo, rather than Hell, along with other virtuous pagans. Boccaccio incorporated two Saladin narratives into his *Decameron* (completed by 1353). The first, *The Story of the Three Rings* suggests respect for both Jews and Muslims as Saladin invites a Jew, Melchizedek, to adjudicate across the three religions. Melchizedek recounts an allegorical tale in which the heir of a particular family is always recognized by the possession of a valuable ring. It reaches a father with three equally worthy sons, who has two identical copies made so that it was not possible to say which of the sons was the heir; so it is with the three monotheistic religions—it is impossible to tell which is true. In the second, *A Tale of Master Torello and Saladin*, Saladin, in the build up to the Third Crusade, spies on the potential crusaders disguised as a merchant. He meets the merchant Torello who treats him well. In due course, Torello participates in the crusade, where he is taken prisoner and dully recognized by Saladin. He is magically transported to his home in Pavia, just in time to prevent his wife, believing him to be dead, from remarrying. Stories like these present Saladin in a favourable light and imply the possibility of positive points of contact across the confessional divide, albeit in terms which favoured the western Christians.

Lyric Poetry

So far, we have explored narrative texts, many of which were intended for performance: the *chansons de geste* were sung, though we know little about the music. By contrast the shorter lyric poems (*chansons de croisade*) often, but not always, come down to us in *chansonniers* with the music. It was in the Occitan area that the earliest courtly love poems originated, and the *chansons de croisade* thrived in this literary context. One of the earliest crusading lyrics, and one of the most often performed today, is Marcabru's *Pax in nomine Domini* (*Peace in the name of the Lord*) composed at the time of the Second Crusade. The troubadour uses the *lavador* or washing place, such as are still found in many Southern French small towns, as an image for the crusades in Spain, where those participating will be cleansed.

Short poems explicitly addressing crusading issues occur from the time of Marcabru to the end of the thirteenth century in Occitan, French, German, Spanish, and Italian. Cross-fertilization across languages, and especially between French and Occitan literature is evident in both narrative texts and lyric poetry. Bridging the cultures are the lyric poems of Richard the Lionheart, probably originally written in Gascon, a dialect of Occitan, his mother's language. His poetry has added to the romance surrounding Richard. His *Ja nus hons* (*No Prisoner Will…*), which survives in Old French appears to have been written during his captivity in Austria while returning from Crusade.

In examining lyric poetry, it is not always easy to separate the areas of focus since the poems make use of the idiom and forms of established genres such as the courtly



8. The first words and music for Conon of Béthune's *Ahi Amors* lamenting that he must leave his beloved to go on crusade (13th century).

love poem: did these texts have crusading at their heart, or were they using crusading as a new way of addressing themes of love? The answer is probably both. The writing of poetry was not the preserve of 'minstrels' or 'wandering troubadours' as we often imagine. The term 'troubadour' is the Occitan word for a maker of poetry; the French word is *trouvère*. These poets included high-status men with political power, and some were themselves crusaders. The French poet Conon of Béthune is a prime example. He was, with the chronicler Villehardouin, one of the major negotiators for the crusaders in their discussions with the Venetians. Three crusade songs written by Conon survive, all of which draw on the traditions of *chansons de départie* (departure song), where a crusader laments the necessity of parting from loved ones. The most famous of Conon's poems *Ahï! Amors, com dure departie* (*Ah, Love, How Hard the Parting…*) is a moving articulation of the mixed emotions of any man off to war, sorrowful for his parting from his beloved, but convinced of the rightness of his cause and his duty to serve God, as well as including criticism of those who stayed behind, who are to be shamed (*Saichiés chil sont trop honi ki n'iront*, 'know that they are shamed who will not go'; l. 21).

A second poem, *Belle doce dame chiere* (*Beautiful Lady, Sweet and Dear*), draws on the dialectic style popular in Occitan literature, with one stanza praising the lady and the next castigating her for her hardness of heart The third of his poems *Bien me deüsse targier* (*I Ought to Stop*), begins along similar lines, stating that he should stop writing 'songs and words and music' and turn his attention to his service for God, leading the listener to expect the tension between love for lady and love for God which we find in the classic departure song. After two stanzas focusing on his own distress, he turns his attention to those who have taken the cross out of greed, or who are wrongly appropriating the taxes raised to pay for the crusade. The language he uses about these unjust and exploitative lords is strong: they are 'tirans' (l. 26); they are birds which soil their own nests ('li oixel qui conchïet son nit') and 'barons empiriés' (degenerate lords).

Another French poet, Count Thibaut IV of Champagne was a leader in the Barons Crusade of 1239; no fewer than five of his crusade poems survive. His *Seignor, sachiez, qui or ne s'an ira* (*Lord, Know This, Whoever Will Not Go…*) is scathing about those who excuse themselves on account of their wife or friends. He cleverly exploits the poetic form of the *ballade* which often ended with an *envoi* sending a love poem to the beloved; Thibaut turns his poem into a prayer by addressing the *envoi* to the Virgin Mary.

There is no evidence that the prolific thirteenth-century poet Rutebeuf travelled on crusade, though his poetry encouraged others to do so. In his *Débat du croisié et du décroisié* the knight resisting the call to crusade raises practical issues against abandoning his family to travel to the Holy Land (rather like the objections scorned by Thibaut). This poem is remarkable in giving a voice to those who were reluctant, but it is also ultimately conservative in the ease with which the *décroisié* is persuaded to change his mind.

We find a similar tradition of crusading lyric in German-speaking lands, with the German love poets (Minnesänger) putting less stress on the political aspects and focusing rather on the affective while the different genre of *Spruchdichtung* dealt

specifically with political and ethical issues. Again some of the poets were crusaders and some of high status. The tension between love for God and love for a lady finds expression often through the *topos* of the divided body expressing the pain of separation. The poets from different places drew on each other's work and even dialogue with each other, and that across languages. The German poet Friedrich von Hausen, who took part in the Third Crusade, may have taken the idea of the separated heart and body in his 'Mîn herze und mîn lîp diu wellent scheiden' ('My heart and body want to separate') from Conon's *Ahi! Amors*, but the conceit is also found in works which are not about the crusades, specifically in Chrétien de Troyes' Arthurian romance, *Yvain*. In Hausen's poetry the love of God, or duty to God, is the higher duty. Hartmann von Aue, like Conon and others, criticizes those who did not take the cross. Unusually Albrecht von Johansdorf articulates the tension by giving a voice to the lady.

Conon's poetry is also echoed in that of Huon d'Oisy whose *Maugré tous sains et maugré Diu* (*Despite All the Saints and Despite God*) echoes *Bien me deüsse targier*; Huon castigates Conon, accusing him of having returned early from crusade, possibly referring to Conon having departed with the crusaders on the Third Crusade, though there is no independent evidence that he did so. There is dialogue also between Conon of Béthune and the contemporary Occitan poets, Bertrand and Raimbaut de Vaqueiras.

The Crusades as the Ultimate Chivalric Activity

Crusading was also seen as the ultimate test, a chivalric activity which is part of the development of a knight, but which was also a Christian duty which brought with it spiritual demands and benefits. Some narrative texts thus include crusading as one adventure among others.

Guy of Warwick was a romance which knew extraordinary success in England and France from the thirteenth century into the Early Modern period. The oldest surviving redaction was written in Anglo-Norman, but there are also several different versions in Middle English and a later prose romance in the French of the continent. Guy is the hero for all men, blessed with a many-facetted character. The first part of the story shows him as a lover-knight, seeking to show that he deserves the hand of his beloved Felice, who is of higher social status than he is. His motivation is not service of God, or even of his fellow men, but honour which will grant him his love. After a series of adventures across Europe he ends up in Constantinople where he defends the Christian capital of the eastern empire from attacking Saracens. This oldest version of the text dates from the first half of the thirteenth century and it has been suggested that the lack of any reference to the sacking of Constantinople by the crusaders means it was composed at the very beginning of the century, before or only shortly after the 1204 crusade, with its sacking of Constantinople by the crusaders. Scholars have disagreed about how to read Guy's adventures against the Saracens here. In successfully keeping the city Christian, with Guy as a western knight, defending it against attack, some have seen an attempt to erase the sack of Constantinople from western memory; others see

9. Gloucester Cathedral Misericord thought to show Guy of Warwick fighting the giant Colbrond mid-fourteenth century.

Guy as the ultimate colonialist, reinforcing western domination of eastern city. The theory that the writer was unaware of the sack of Constantinople does not stand up for the time of the copying of the extant manuscripts, or the later prose redaction.

The second part has a different tone. Having acquired sufficient glory to marry Fenice, Guy is filled with remorse what his chivalric activities were carried out for honour and love, not for the glory of God. The penitent Guy becomes a pilgrim to the Holy Land. Many crusaders did not travel as part of a general passage, but as independent crusaders and this is embodied in the character of Guy in the second part of his narrative.

An interesting and little-studied narrative is the entirely fictional *Roman de Castelain de Couci et de la Dame de Fayel* (probably composed 1285–8). Here the motivation for going on crusade is not piety nor allegiance to one's lord, but love. The real *châtelain* of Coucy was a composer of love lyrics and crusader (he took part in the Third and Fourth Crusades). Some of his poems, including his *chanson de départie, A vous, amant* (*To You, Lovers*) are incorporated into this 8,265-line text. In this rather grisly romance, the *châtelain* is conducting a courtly affair with the married Dame de Fayel whose husband becomes aware of the situation. He declares that he is going on crusade and that his wife is to accompany him. The *châtelain*, unable to bear the thought of being separated from his beloved, promptly takes the cross. The cuckolded husband then announces that he will not, after all, be going on crusade, but the *châtelain* feels constrained to keep his vow so departs, separated perforce from the lady. Like Bathsheba's husband in the biblical book of Kings, the *châtelain* is in a place of danger and is killed; his heart is sent

10. Le Roman du Chatelain de Coucy. This double miniature shows the lady being served the heart of her lover and then on her deathbed surrounded by members of her household (14th century).

home to his mistress. The husband intercepts the casket and has the heart prepared as a dish and served to his wife. When she learns what she has eaten the lady retires to her bed and dies. The *châtelain*'s motivation for going on crusade is love, not piety, but the text makes it perfectly clear that the *châtelain*, far from being punished for his affair, has earned his salvation by his participation in the crusade. For many this rather instrumental way of looking at crusading may have rung true: the crusader went on crusade, was killed, and therefore was saved. This is a long way from Archbishop Turpin in the *Roland* urging penitence on the crusading warriors, with fighting as a penance and salvation as a reward.

A text often linked in discussion with the *Châtelain de Couci* is the thirteenth-century *Châtelaine de Vergy*. Here the crusading theme is almost incidental: the short narrative tells of a love affair between a knight and the niece of the duke of Burgundy and ends tragically with both lovers and the duchess of Burgundy dead. In penance the duke becomes a Templar and leaves the country. This brief mention of the crusades again suggests a rather instrumental approach, the duke going on crusade to achieve forgiveness. Crusading was the ultimate test of knightly valour, but also the ultimate penitential activity. In *Le petit Jehan de Saintré* (1456) crusading was the culmination of Jehan's education as a knight. By this time crusading, for literary purposes, has passed into the world of the imagination and become part of a constructed life of chivalry.

A Lighter Touch

War and crusading are serious topics, but a generous sprinkling of humour, even in the most serious of texts, can leaven the dough and engage the reader. The *chanson de geste Fierabras*, for example, plays with scenes from the *Chanson de Roland*, subverting readers' expectations: where in *Roland*, the French peers eagerly volunteer for a dangerous role, in *Fierabras*, they hurry to explain why each should not be sent on a similar mission. Fierabras' beautiful sister, Floripas, also serves comic purposes; her baptism is delayed until the end of the poem so the writer can allow her to behave in ways which would be inappropriate for a Christian lady, displaying incongruous feistiness and violence. Even at the point of her baptism she is depicted as an object of desire under the gaze of Charlemagne's men, with humour which to us would seem out of place. In the *Chanson de Guillaume* too, alongside the disturbing images of death and suffering, are comic ones: the great hero William, count of Orange, is described incongruously riding his nephew's small horse, his feet almost touching the ground. Chroniclers likewise sometimes used humour to hold the attention of readers, often the kind of wordplay used by Ambroise in his contemporary chronicle of the Third Crusade.

Among the texts which include crusading but where it is not the main focus, is the (sometimes darkly) comic *Roman de Renart*, actually a collection of texts, usually referred to as *branches*, centred round the wily character of Renard the Fox and composed over a period of time, the earliest dating from the 1170s. The anthropomorphic animals are a vehicle for satire and humour, targeting human failings.

One *branche* of the *Roman de Renart*, 'Renart empereur' (Emperor Renard), exploits the *chanson de geste* to introduce crusading *topoi*. As in texts such as *Aspremont* and *Fierabras* the concern is Saracen (or pagan) attacks in Christendom rather than Outremer. The king of this animal kingdom, Noble the lion, gathers his vassals to fight the pagans, leaving Renard to run his kingdom in the meantime. While Noble is departing on his defensive crusade, Renard is enjoying the company of his queen. The text intermingles the crusading seriousness of the *chanson de geste* with the sometimes subversive humour of the *fabliaux*. When Noble and his army are about to engage in battle Bernard, the archpriest donkey, addresses the host, as the Archbishop Turpin addresses Charlemagne's men in the *Chanson de Roland*. But there is nothing here of the crusading theology of Turpin; Bernard simply adjures them to kill the enemy, cutting them into pieces. The heroic seriousness of the crusading *chanson de geste* is undermined, but it is the literary genre which is mocked rather than crusading itself.

Conclusion

Crusading was an international enterprise, and the literature of the crusades circulated across the boundaries of polities and languages. Many of the narratives were widely disseminated and translated and the lyric texts in different languages express similar sentiments and concerns, though sometimes with a different focus. Some of these texts had propaganda value, and there is a didactic strain in much of this literature, but it was also intended to entertain and even the most serious of texts needed to engage the reader or listener. Many of those listening would not have been in a position to take the cross but would have been able to give financial or other support. Later literature with a crusading theme may also have been as much about personal piety as about the physical act of crusading. The extensive body of literature which deals with, or touches on, the crusades, is thus varied, entertaining, sometimes humorous, and ranged from the factual to the fantastic, sometimes within the same text.

CHAPTER 13

Crusading in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1291–1500

MIKE CARR

On 18 May 1291 the port city of Acre, the capital of the kingdom of Jerusalem and bastion of the Crusader States in the Levant, fell to the army of the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf. By August all of the remaining Frankish possessions on the Syrian mainland had been taken, thus marking the termination of the crusader presence in the Holy Land. With the gift of hindsight, it is tempting to see this event as signifying the abrupt end of the era of traditional crusading in the Holy Land and the beginning of a new period of later crusades, with radically different characteristics and objectives. However, although the fall of Acre was undoubtedly a watershed moment, the nature of crusading in the decades immediately following 1291 did not change drastically from that of the later thirteenth century and it was only with the emergence of the Anatolian Turkish *beyliks* (emirates) in the second and third decades of the fourteenth century that crusading slowly evolved into a defensive concept which would become crystallized in face of the Ottoman threat in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The most striking response to the fall of Acre was not a military one, as might be expected, but rather a literary one in the form of a flurry of proposals advising the papacy and western powers on how best to recover the Holy Land. These works were initially solicited by Pope Gregory X at the second Council of Lyon in 1274, but all of them, apart from that written by Fidenzio of Padua in 1290, were in fact composed after the disastrous events of 1291 and can thus be seen as a response to them. These authors, the so-called 'crusade theorists', were a mixture of knights, rulers, clerics, merchants, and lawyers with varying degrees of knowledge of the east but each with their own notable agenda. Some, such as the masters of the Hospitallers and the Templars, drew on their military experience to outline detailed logistical plans for a crusade. Others, like the Norman lawyer Pierre Dubois, took the opportunity to promote his patron Philip IV of France and advocate French leadership of a campaign. Even clerics were keen to make tactical recommendations, most famously the Dominican friar William of Adam who argued that Jerusalem could be liberated through the conquest of Constantinople and a blockade of the Mamluks in the Indian Ocean.

1. Manuscript illumination showing the siege of Acre in 1291, from *Les grandes chroniques de France*, probably made for King Charles V of France in 1370.

As well as giving military advice, many proposals also incorporated historical accounts of the earlier crusades, geographical descriptions of the east, and musings on the nature of the Mamluk enemy, making them a fascinating snapshot of western perceptions of Islam more generally, as well as of the crusading strategies and the priorities of the European powers at the turn of the fourteenth century, even if many were of dubious strategic value.

Despite the great variation in the works of the crusade theorists, most agreed that the recovery of Jerusalem would be best achieved by a two- or three-pronged attack on the Mamluk Empire consisting of a specialist small-scale campaign, a *passagium particulare*, sometimes preceded by an even smaller *primum passagium*, which would pave the way for a larger scale crusade, called a *passagium generale*. The preliminary *passagia* were often regarded as primarily maritime ventures, which were designed to achieve two complementary goals: they would harry the Levantine coast and disrupt Mamluk trade, thus bringing relief to the two remaining Christian strongholds in the east—Cyprus and Cilician Armenia—while simultaneously enforcing the commercial blockade on Syria and Egypt, promulgated by the papacy since the late twelfth century. The ground would then be set for the *passagium generale* which could use Cyprus or Armenia as

staging posts to launch a full-scale invasion of the depleted Mamluk Empire. The *passagium generale* was often seen as a large force of infantry and cavalry, akin to the great crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth century, which would be led by a European ruler who most thought would easily defeat the Mamluks on land, bringing about the swift liberation of Jerusalem.

Over time, these two strands of crusading would drift apart from one another, with the *passagium generale* remaining an unfulfilled dream as it became increasingly bogged down in negotiations between the French monarchy and the papacy, while the *passagium particulare* eventually evolved into an independent form of maritime crusading, pursued by the local Latin powers in the east against the Turks. A more traditional land-based crusade, similar in makeup to a *passagium generale*, would eventually re-emerge in the Balkan campaigns of Nicopolis and Varna, but these had the goal of defeating the Ottomans, rather than liberating Jerusalem. Even in the years immediately following the fall of Acre, the difficulties in launching a *passagium generale* as a follow up to a *passagium particulare* were apparent. Since the start of his pontificate in 1288, Nicholas IV had put in place plans for a crusade to be led by Edward I of England which would depart in 1293. After the fall of Acre, the pope made efforts to recruit the French, Venetians, Genoese, and others to the campaign, but by 1292 only the Genoese had provided any support. They contributed galleys to a fleet which joined with one formed by Henry II of Cyprus and made a number of preliminary raids along the coasts of Anatolia and Egypt in 1292, even launching an unsuccessful attack on Alexandria. But despite these actions, the *passagium generale* to be led by Edward I never materialized. A similar story can be told in 1300 when Ghazan, the Mongol Ilkhan of Persia, launched an invasion of Mamluk Syria, raising hopes in the west that an alliance could be struck to recover Jerusalem. Preparations were subsequently made for the Latin powers to launch a *passagium particulare* against the coasts of Egypt and Syria, this time in conjunction with Mongol advances on land, before a *passagium generale* would be led to Jerusalem. In 1300 Henry II of Cyprus, together with the Hospitallers and the Templars, managed to raise a fleet of sixteen galleys which raided Alexandria and several coastal cities in Syria. However, as with the fleet of 1292, it did little lasting damage to the Mamluks and no *passagium generale* ever materialized.

The problem was the simple fact that the most powerful states of Europe were not in a position to contribute to a *passagium generale* in the decade following the fall of Acre. Since 1282 the Central Mediterranean powers had been drawn into a war in Sicily, which pitted the Aragonese, the Sicilians, and the anti-papal factions in Italy against the papacy, the Angevins of Naples, and the French. Further north, England and France were at each other's throats, and the French were having to guard against rebellions in Flanders. In Rome, Pope Boniface VIII became embroiled in a conflict with Philip IV of France which would lead to his humiliation at the hands of the French at Anagni in September 1303 and death a month later. The fact that Philip became the main leader of a crusade after this point is evidence of the overbearing influence the French had over crusading plans in these years.

Putting aside the conflicts within Europe, it should also be remembered that crusading was an enormously costly enterprise and one which could bankrupt even the wealthiest of kingdoms. The Seventh Crusade, led by Louis IX of France to Egypt in 1248–54, for example, cost the king around 1,500,000 livres of Tours, which was roughly six times his annual revenue. And that is to say nothing of the ransom of 400,000 livres that was paid to secure his release from captivity. To put this into a fourteenth-century context, Charles IV of France estimated that his proposed *passagium particulare* of 1323 would cost 1,600,000 livres of Tours, so an even greater amount for a smaller expedition. Given the enormous expense of crusading, lay rulers considered church tithes as forming a crucial component of crusade finance. For example, Louis IX received 950,000 livres for his aforementioned crusade from a tax levied on the church in France, which covered around two-thirds of his outlay (not including the ransom). It is therefore not surprising that disagreements over how much the papacy would contribute to a crusade became a reoccurring obstacle in crusade preparation during this period.

After the turn of the century, the prospects of organizing a crusade in Europe improved slightly with the signing of the Peace of Caltabellotta in 1302, which ended the Sicilian war. This, coupled with the death of Boniface VIII the following year, allowed the chief crusading powers to turn their attention back towards the east. By this point the French strategy for a *passagium generale* became enmeshed with plans to recover the Latin Empire of Constantinople when Charles of Valois, the younger brother of Philip IV, married the titular Latin empress of Constantinople, Catherine of Courtenay, in 1301. Proposals to recover Constantinople had existed since the reconquest of the city by the Byzantines in 1261, but they had fallen into abeyance during the Sicilian war. Now a crusade to Constantinople became regarded as a kind of *passagium particulare*, which could recover Latin territory in the east, to be used as a staging post for a crusade to Jerusalem.

The initial preparations for this campaign were promising. In 1304 and again in 1306 the full crusade indulgence was granted to participants and extensive church tithes were levied in order to subsidize the expedition. At this point, Venice concluded a treaty with Charles, which stipulated that the crusade was to depart from Brindisi within the next two years, and Pope Clement V also pronounced an excommunication against the Byzantine emperor and his supporters. But despite these encouraging signs, over the next few years Charles' crusading project fell apart. The death of his wife Catherine of Courtenay in 1308 and the transfer of her claim to their daughter Catherine of Valois was a major setback, as were the constant delays in securing the funds needed to get the campaign underway. To add to this, support from his brother Philip IV began to waver as other events, such as the ongoing conflict with Flanders and the arrest of the Knights Templar (1307), took precedence. Charles persuaded the Venetians to postpone the expedition until February 1310, but when he failed to make this new deadline, they concluded a peace treaty with the Byzantine emperor, effectively putting an end to the projected crusade.

After the collapse of Charles of Valois' crusade, attempts to recover Constantinople and launch a new *passagium generale* to the Holy Land were revived by Clement V at the

Council of Vienne in 1311–12. Here a six-year tenth was levied on the Church in order to finance an expedition and a new date was set for a crusade. This was to be led to Jerusalem by Philip IV, and would be preceded by a *passagium particulare* commanded by Philip of Taranto, who had agreed to marry Catherine of Valois in 1313, thus inheriting the claim to the Latin Empire. As was the case earlier in his pontificate, Clement V issued indulgences and other privileges for these projects, however, the deaths of both the pope and Philip IV in 1314 ensured that neither campaign ever materialized.

The next stage in the attempts to launch a major crusade to Jerusalem—those planned during reigns of the French kings, Philip V, Charles IV, and Philip VI—represent the last period when the recovery of the Holy Land was seriously proposed by a major European ruler. The strategy of a *passagium particulare* followed by a *passagium generale* was adopted by both Philip V and Charles IV, although by this time the conquest of Constantinople was laid aside in favour of launching a preliminary campaign to aid Cilician Armenia, which was gravely imperilled by the Mamluks. In 1319 and 1323 galleys were constructed for this preliminary crusade, but on both occasions they never set out. Pope John XXII was unwilling to grant the kings money from the papal camera for a campaign which he suspected would never materialize, and French conflicts with England and Flanders soon diverted men, resources, and attention from the east.

When Philip VI became king in 1328 he immediately revived plans for a crusade, which were followed by preaching in 1331 and in-depth discussions with the papacy throughout the next two years. The king succeeded in convincing the pope to levy a six-year tenth throughout Christendom for his crusade which would begin in 1336, and would be preceded by a *passagium particulare* to the Aegean, being organized by the Venetians and Hospitallers. The French contributed galleys to this *passagium particulare*, which took the form of the 1334 anti-Turkish league, but predictably the follow-up crusade to the Holy Land collapsed because of financial difficulties and the outbreak of war between England and France. The papacy, for its part, had given considerable support to Philip VI, but ultimately the king was forced to prioritize domestic concerns over the liberation of Jerusalem. As we will see later, Peter I of Cyprus would launch an attack on Alexandria in 1365, but with the exception of this enigmatic campaign, the breakdown of the plans of Philip VI marked the end of serious attempts to launch a crusade to reconquer the Holy Land. That is not to say that the liberation of Jerusalem was ever absent from crusade planning after this point, for treatises promoting the recovery of the Holy Land continued to be written in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. From this point onwards, however, the holy city was more of an aspirational dream.

Crusades against the Turks in the Aegean, 1291–1370

One consequence of the repeated failure to launch a crusade to the Holy Land was the gradual separation of the preliminary *passagia* from the interests of the major crusading

2. Christian and Muslim merchants sail a vessel displaying a cross and crescents, probably carrying illegal merchandise to Egypt and Syria, from the Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis, of Marino Sanudo Torsello, *c.*1260–1343.

powers in Europe, in particular the French, and the alignment of these *passagia* to the priorities of the Latins in the east. Even from the earliest campaign launched after the fall of Acre—the Genoese-Cypriot fleet of 1292—the motivations and priorities of the participants differed significantly from the rulers of Western Europe. This fleet was envisioned as a precursor to a *passagium generale*, but its immediate aims were to harry the Levantine coast, reinforce Latin maritime supremacy in the east, and to enforce the papal embargo on trade with the Mamluks, either by seizing Muslim shipping or sequestering the vessels belonging to Christian merchants suspected of trading in Syria and Egypt. On paper these objectives seem rational, but one glaring contradiction was that the states who had the requisite maritime power to achieve this—in this case the Genoese and the Cypriots, but also the Venetians and later the Hospitallers—were precisely those who relied on secure trade with the Muslims of the east in order to prosper, or just to survive.

Because of the inherent contradiction between the ostensible objectives of the preliminary *passagia* and the priorities of those who led them, the Latins of the east began to repackage the defence of their territories and trading interests as also constituting the defence of the faith. In this, they were aided by the westward movement of the Anatolian Turks, who were more of a direct threat to Latin states in the Aegean and thus replaced the Mamluks as the main target of crusading. By the fourteenth century, the Turks had established a number of *beyliks* in Anatolia, centred around a ruling family from which the *beylik* took its name. Initially, the Latins were mostly in conflict with the *beyliks* on the western coast of Anatolia, namely Karası, Saruhan, Aydın, and Menteşe, but by the second half of the century they came up against the Ottomans, who had become the dominant force in Anatolia. Further east, the *beylik* of Karaman, centred on the former Seljuk capital of Konya, would be a constant thorn in the side of the Ottomans, frequently allying with the crusading powers and rebelling against Ottoman rule.

The earliest mention of the Turks in crusade planning after the fall of Acre was in Charles of Valois' failed projects to recover Byzantium, where the papacy had

justified the crusade to Constantinople partly on the basis that recovering the city would prevent it from falling into the hands of the Turks. At the same time as Charles was planning his crusade, the Hospitallers launched an attack on the Dodecanese island of Rhodes, then under the nominal control of the Byzantines, capturing parts of the island and laying siege to its principal city. Then in 1308–9, the grand master, with support from Clement V, organized a crusade to the east which was ostensibly intended to bring aid to Cyprus and Armenia and enforce the embargo, as a precursor to a general passage being planned by Philip IV of France. This crusade departed from Brindisi in early 1310, but instead of carrying out its stated objectives, it helped to complete the conquest of Rhodes later that year. Thus, arguably the most successful crusading venture of the early fourteenth century resulted in the conquest of an Aegean island rather than the fulfilment of Franco-papal crusading objectives.

Once the Hospitallers were established in the Aegean they soon formed alliances with other Latin powers in the region against the Turks, namely the kings of Cyprus and the Genoese Zaccaria family, who ruled the Eastern Aegean island of Chios. All three of these states won naval victories over the Turks in the next decades, with a combined fleet from the Hospitallers and Zaccaria destroying a large armada from the *beylik* of Aydın in 1319. Soon after this event, Pope John XXII granted indulgences to the Zaccaria family and also issued them special licences which exempted them from the papal embargo by allowing them to trade the Chiot product of mastic with the Mamluks. Both of these concessions were made with the aim of helping the family recruit and pay fighters who could defend the Aegean from the Turks. It is this combination of quasi-crusading against the Anatolian *beyliks* in the Aegean, combined with exemption to trade with the Mamluks which characterized the transitional period in crusading strategy as the impetus moved from attempts to recover the Holy Land, to the defence of Christendom against the Ottomans.

In the early decades of the fourteenth century it was the eastern islands of Chios, Rhodes, and Cyprus which bore the brunt of the Turkish incursions, but over the course of the 1320s, the Venetians, who occupied Crete, Negroponte, and territories in Greece also came under attack. At this point, as we have seen, the main crusade strategies were dominated by the kings of France, who favoured a preliminary expedition to Armenia, followed by a general crusade to the Holy Land. They also supported attempts by their cousins, the Angevins of Naples, to reinforce their beleaguered territories in Greece, under attack from the Byzantines of Mistra and the Catalans of Athens, for which the papacy sometimes granted crusading indulgences. Venice, with its possessions in the Morea and Negroponte, was a key player in these disputes, but it favoured appeasement with the Byzantines and Catalans, whom it considered as potential allies against the Turks. The papacy for its part was willing to treat the Byzantines as allies, but only on the condition that they accept the union of churches—essentially the subordination to the Greek Church to Rome—which the emperor had refused to do despite repeated union negotiations.

The main strategy proposed by the Venetians was that pioneered by the crusade theorist Marino Sanudo Torsello, who advocated a naval coalition, or league, which would combat the Turks at sea and enforce the trade embargo. In many ways, this was not dissimilar to the alliance that the Hospitallers and Zaccaria had already formed in 1319, but for the Venetians, the league also included galleys provided by the Byzantine emperor, who was viewed as an important ally against the Turks, despite his refusal to agree to Church union. In 1332 the Venetians, Hospitallers, and Byzantines formally agreed to contribute twenty galleys to this league, which was to gather in the Aegean in the following spring, although it failed to meet that deadline.

By this time, Philip VI's plans for a *passagium generale* were well under way and he wrote to the Venetian doge asking for logistical advice. It is at this point that the doge specifically linked the league to the planned Franco-papal *passagium generale* to Jerusalem by stating that defeating the Turks in the Aegean was an essential prerequisite for any crusade to the Holy Land as it would allow the Latins to supply their crusade with provisions from the Black Sea. Philip VI bought into this plan and in 1334, he agreed to contribute four galleys to the league. At the same time Pope John XXII also agreed to provide four galleys, as well as granting partial indulgences to the participants. In terms of papal commitment, this was not on a par with Philip VI's expedition, for which the pope ordered preaching, and awarded Church tithes and the full crusade indulgence, but it nevertheless marks the point where a campaign against the Turks became incorporated into mainstream crusading strategy.

In the end the naval league did not include the Byzantine vessels as originally agreed, but instead consisted of forty galleys provided by Venice (ten), the Hospitallers (ten), the king of Cyprus (six), and the French and the papacy combined (eight). This fleet won several important victories over the Turks in the Aegean, including a notable one against the *beylik* of Karası at Adramyttion in the autumn of 1334. The league was, however, short-lived and it disbanded before the end of the year, having achieved its aim of quashing Turkish piracy in the Aegean.

The respite was only temporary though and by the early 1340s, Turkish raids, now spearheaded by Umur, the emir of Aydın, had resumed with even greater ferocity, which led the Venetians, Hospitallers, and Cypriots to seek papal support for the reforming of the league. This was taken up enthusiastically by Pope Clement VI who went a step further than his predecessor by instigating crusade preaching and issuing full indulgences for the forthcoming campaign, which were the same as those who took the cross for a crusade to Jerusalem. The crusade consisted of a naval league of twenty galleys, provided by the Venetians (six), Hospitallers (six), Cyprus (four), and the papacy (four), as well as a second wave commanded by Humbert, the Dauphin of Viennois, in 1345–7. The league was a great success. It captured the harbour-fortress of Smyrna in 1344, leading to the death of Umur of Aydın in a failed assault against the walls in 1348, and won several important naval victories over the Turks in the Aegean. Humbert's second wave, in contrast, achieved little, owing to the tensions among the members of the league and the problems caused by famine and the outbreak of the

Black Death. Nevertheless, the preaching and successes of the Crusade of Smyrna, as it became known, were greeted with an enthusiasm in Europe not witnessed since the turn of the fourteenth century. Moreover, the Crusade of Smyrna shared the same papal privileges and mechanisms as those to the Holy Land, thus making it the first full-scale crusade to be waged against the Turks.

While the Latins were busy confronting the maritime *beyliks* in the Aegean, the Ottoman Turks had begun to make serious inroads at the expense of the Byzantines in North-Western Anatolia under their leaders Osman I and Orhan I. During the period of the Crusade of Smyrna, a civil war had been raging in Byzantium in which the Ottomans had been employed as mercenaries by one of the Byzantine leaders who shipped them across the Dardanelles to fight in Thrace. In 1354 an earthquake destroyed the Byzantine fortifications at Gallipoli and allowed the Ottomans to establish a permanent beachhead, from where they were able to quickly expand into the Balkans. The Byzantine Emperor John V was so alarmed that he wrote to the pope promising to agree to the union of Churches if the west could send military aid to his empire. The speed of the Ottoman advance, coupled with John V's plea, convinced the next pope, Innocent IV, to direct crusading further north in an effort to counter the Ottomans and bring aid to Byzantium. This first took the form of a small crusade led by Peter Thomas, the bishop of Coron and papal ambassador who had been sent to discuss Church union with the emperor in 1357. Peter's expedition set out in 1359 and was supported by vessels from the Hospitallers and Venice, who had formed a smaller version of the naval league in the Aegean. The crusaders reinforced Smyrna and then sailed to the Dardanelles where, with the aid of the Byzantines, they sacked the Turkish fortress town of Lampsakos, opposite Gallipoli. Although this was a modest victory in the context of Ottoman expansion, importantly it marked the first instance of a joint Latin-Byzantine military operation against the Turks, first advocated by Sanudo and the Venetians in the 1320s. An alliance with the Byzantines would become an increasingly prominent component of crusading strategy as the threat from the Ottomans increased in the following years.

If the 1334 naval league, the Crusade of Smyrna and the sack of Lampsakos can be seen as signifying a shift in crusading strategy towards the Turks, then the next major crusade of the fourteenth century, that launched by Peter I of Cyprus against Alexandria, should be seen as a temporary reversal of this strategy, at odds with established thinking of the time. Peter I was crowned in 1358 and immediately showed himself to be an enthusiastic, if unconventional, crusader. One of his first actions was to divert the Cypriot galleys allocated for the league in the Aegean to occupy the port of Corycus in Cilician Armenia, which was on the brink of falling to the Turks. By this time Peter Thomas had also sailed from the Aegean to Cyprus and he lent his support to the king, even though the Venetians criticized him for diverting galleys needed further north. In 1361, Peter I constructed a new fleet and captured the important port of Adalia to the west of Corycus, thus cementing his reputation as an aggressive and skilful military leader.

Peter's ambitions were, however, greater than merely subjugating the Turks of Southern Anatolia. In June 1362 he wrote to the rulers of Europe declaring his desire to launch a crusade to liberate the Holy Land, thus reviving the plans of Philip VI almost forty years earlier. A few months later he set sail for the west to recruit participants in his campaign. King John II of France took the cross and vowed to set out on a general passage in 1365, but he died a prisoner in England the year before. Nevertheless, Peter continued planning for his crusade, for which Peter Thomas was appointed as papal legate in 1364. After touring the west and recruiting men, Peter I arrived in Venice in late 1364 and set sail the following June with an army of some 10,000 men and 1,400 horses. The precise target of the crusade was kept a secret, but in July, when the army was at Rhodes, the king announced that he would attack Alexandria. The Mamluks were kept in the dark and on 10 October, the crusaders launched a surprise assault on the city, capturing and looting it. But without a backup crusade to follow, the king could not hope to hold the city against the might of the Mamluk Empire and so he set sail for Cyprus only six days later. The sack of Alexandria by Peter I was in many ways an outstanding achievement, given the difficulties in launching any kind of concerted attack on Mamluk Egypt in the past. But ultimately it proved to be ephemeral, and in the long run it achieved little more than aggravating the sultan.

The precise reasons why the king attacked Alexandria are a puzzle and have been hotly debated by historians. Peter portrayed his crusade as a genuine attempt to recover Jerusalem, which fitted into the age-old strategy of exchanging conquests in Egypt for Christian places in the Holy Land. However, the king was an experienced military commander, who must have known that his force would be insufficient for successfully carrying out this strategy, thus calling into question his motives. An alternative explanation lies in the economics of the Eastern Mediterranean. The papal ban on trade with Egypt had forced Christian merchants to frequent Cyprus, in particular the port of Famagusta, during the first half of the fourteenth century, but as the papacy began to relax trade in Egypt, Famagusta fell into an economic decline. The attack on Alexandria could therefore have been a means to direct more commerce back to Cyprus, by disrupting trade with Egypt and provoking Mamluk hostility towards Latin merchants. This underlying economic justification could even have been combined with a genuine belief that attacking Alexandria would help pave the way for the liberation of the Holy Land, thus fusing economic and religious motives in a similar manner to the campaigns against the Turks in the Aegean during the first half of the century. Whatever Peter's motives may have been, his rule was in fact very unpopular and he was assassinated in 1369, with his crusade having achieved no discernible benefit for his island or attempts to recover Jerusalem.

If anything, the crusade of Peter I distracted attention from the much more urgent threat of the Ottomans in the Aegean, who under the new emir, Murad I, had recovered from the sack of Lampsakos and recommenced their steady advances in the region. From this point onwards support from Europe would be sorely needed as Murad

3. Manuscript illumination showing the capture of Alexandria by Peter I of Cyprus in 1365, from Guillaume de Machaut, *La prise d'Alexandrie*.

I embarked on a series of successful campaigns: he won a significant victory in Thrace when he seized Adrianople from the Byzantines, relocating his capital there, and from there he was able to push further into the Balkans, extending the Ottoman frontiers almost as far as the Danube.

Crusades against the Ottomans in the Balkans and Eastern Mediterranean, 1370–1453

Even though the Latin maritime powers had proved their effectiveness against the Turks on the sea, and had even been able to capture important Turkish coastal possessions such as Smyrna and Gallipoli, the expansion of the Ottomans into the Balkans meant that maritime crusading was no longer sufficient to halt their advances. Murad I forced John V to become a tributary in around 1372, after which he recaptured Gallipoli in 1377 and then took Thessalonica in 1387. Further north, he advanced into Bulgaria and Serbia, taking Sofia in 1385 and Nish in 1386. The Ottoman advances were temporarily halted by the Serbian Prince Lazar when he defeated them in 1386 and 1388, which combined with a rebellion by the Karamanids in Anatolia, forced the emir to turn his attention eastwards. However, once Karaman was subdued, Murad launched a fresh offensive against the Serbs, confronting them at Kosovo on 15 June 1389. The following battle was close fought and resulted in the deaths of Murad and Lazar, and the near-destruction of both armies. This proved to be far more costly for

4. Andrea de Bonaiuto, *The Church Militant*, showing many prominent crusaders of the later fourteenth century (back row, right to left, beginning with the black-bearded noble): Amadeo VI count of Savoy, King Peter I of Cyprus, Emperor Charles IV, Pope Urban V, the papal legate in Italy, Gil Albornoz; and Juan Fernandez de Heredia, master of the Hospitallers (fourth from left with a cross on his shoulder). Fresco in the Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence.

the Serbs who could not easily replace their fallen troops, unlike the Ottomans with their vast reserves of manpower. The battle of Kosovo was thus a mortal blow to the Serbs, and one which cemented Ottoman dominance in the region.

To make matters worse for the Christian powers of the Balkans, the death of Murad I led to the accession of his son Bayezid I, who proved to be a far more aggressive ruler. His energetic campaigning earned him the nickname Yıldırım, or Thunderbolt, and was evident from the very earliest years of his reign when he consolidated the Ottoman conquests of Bulgaria and Serbia and annexed the remaining Turkish *beyliks* in Anatolia, with the exception of Karaman, with which he made peace. With his frontiers secured, Bayezid turned his attention to the remnants of the Byzantine Empire and marched an army to the land walls of Constantinople in 1394. The sultan was too expert a commander to risk an assault on the formidable defences, so he instead opted to blockade the city, aided by a small fleet of galleys which had been constructed at Gallipoli. Some Venetian and Genoese ships were able to run the blockade and bring supplies into Constantinople, but over time the population began to suffer from a lack of food. It is at this point that Emperor Manuel II appealed to the west for aid, as his father had done some years before. Only this time, the emperor made overtures to the rulers of Europe, rather than the papacy, so that negotiations would not get bogged down by the papacy's insistence on Church union.

Chief among these rulers was Sigismund of Hungary, whose kingdom was now coming under direct threat from the Ottomans on its southern borders. Sigismund took the lead in organizing resistance and was able to rouse great interest in a crusade in other western courts. He was aided by a favourable political climate in Europe

thanks to a truce agreed between the French and English in 1389 and the widespread belief that a new crusade could help heal the Great Schism within the papacy, which had resulted in opposing popes in Avignon and Rome since 1378. Burgeoning enthusiasm for the crusade was also harboured by the chivalric nobility of Europe, especially in England, France, and Burgundy. By the early 1390s plans were made to send an army to Hungary to be led by the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, along with the sons of the kings of England and France, John of Gaunt and Louis of Orléans. In 1394 the popes of Avignon and Rome both issued Crusade Bulls and decreed preaching for the expedition. The crusade was to set out by 1395, but a revolt in Gascony and renewed Anglo-French disputes meant that John and Louis withdrew from the expedition, while Philip delegated command to his son John of Nevers.

By this stage the crusade was primarily a Burgundian affair, spearheaded by John of Nevers and his household of 150 soldiers, but also including knights from France and other areas of Burgundy. John led the army eastward in April 1396, reaching Buda in July where it joined up with a Hungarian force under Sigismund. The combined crusader army numbered somewhere between 10,000 and 20,000 men, the size of which had not been seen since the thirteenth century. In the late summer the crusaders marched southwards taking the Ottoman-controlled cities of Vidin and Rahova on the Danube and then laying siege to the important fortress of Nicopolis further east on the river. Things were progressing well for the crusaders, but this changed when Bayezid, in typically energetic fashion, broke off his blockade of Constantinople and marched with incredible speed to meet the crusaders at Nicopolis, which he reached on 25 September. The two armies were relatively evenly matched, but a rash uphill cavalry charge from the French knights, who formed the vanguard of the crusader army, seems to have tipped the balance in favour of the Ottomans. The sultan's forces weathered the French charge and counterattacked with heavy *sipahi* cavalry, forcing the French to flee and causing confusion in the ranks of Sigismund's army further back, many of whom withdrew from the field. The rest of the Ottoman forces joined the battle and routed the crusaders, killing or capturing many, including John of Nevers and several prominent French knights who were subsequently ransomed at great expense. Sigismund only managed to escape by boarding a boat and sailing down the Danube.

Surprisingly the crushing defeat at Nicopolis still provided some benefits to Christendom and the crusading cause: it forced Bayezid to relieve his blockade of Constantinople, thus giving the city an important respite, and it also—rather paradoxically given its failure—boosted crusading enthusiasm at the Burgundian court which was maintained throughout the fifteenth century. But despite these silver linings, the crusade was still a disaster of considerable proportions. Perhaps the most damning aspect was that the Ottomans had overcome a sizeable and relatively coherent and well-provisioned crusader army, the like of which had not been seen for over a century. The ease with which Bayezid had defeated the crusaders demonstrated the effectiveness of the Ottoman military machine, which would be proven time and again throughout the next century.

5. The execution of Christian prisoners after the defeat at Nicopolis in 1396, from the *Grandes Chroniques de France* by John Froissart.

After the victory at Nicopolis, Bayezid was able to turn his attention back towards Constantinople, reimposing the blockade on the city and building the fortress of Anadolu Hisarı on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, in order to control access to the Black Sea. This understandably alarmed Emperor Manuel who appealed to the west once again for aid. The king of France responded, sending a small force of 1,200 men on six ships which slipped the blockade and landed in Constantinople in 1399. The leader was the veteran solider and marshal of France, John Boucicaut, who had fought against the Ottomans at Nicopolis. The threat to Constantinople was now so grave that Boucicaut urged Manuel to travel to the west in person in order to plead directly with the European magnates for support, as his father had done thirty years earlier. The emperor heeded this advice and departed from Constantinople in December 1399, arriving at Paris the following June. He wintered in England and returned to France in 1401, where he wrote to many western leaders about the plight of his empire. Manuel was received with great pomp and ceremony by the rulers he visited who responded

positively to his pleas for assistance. Promises of armed support were made and the popes of Rome and Avignon both preached the crusade and raised money for the cause. It is tempting to be sceptical about whether the promises of military aid would have actually materialized, but in this instance they were not needed as Bayezid was suddenly defeated by an unexpected foe.

The victory at Nicopolis allowed Bayezid to turn back to his Asian frontiers, in particularly Karaman, which had rebelled once again. In 1397, the sultan invaded the *beylik* and conquered its capital of Konya, before setting off on a new campaign in the following year to subjugate the emir of Sebasteia on the north-eastern border of his empire. This was a highly risky move as, unlike Karaman, Sebasteia was a vassal of Timur, the Mongol warlord who had established his own empire in Persia. Like Bayezid, Timur was an aggressive and ruthless ruler, who did not take kindly to affronts to his sovereignty. In early summer he marched into Anatolia, quickly retaking Sebasteia before advancing to Ankara and laying siege to the castle there. Bayezid set out to meet him in battle, arriving at Ankara on 28 July 1402. Here, the sultan was convincingly defeated and taken prisoner by Timur, dying in captivity a few months later. In order to prevent the Ottomans from regaining control of Anatolia, Timur re-established the *beyliks* which had been annexed in the previous decades, and also captured Smyrna, which had been in Latin hands since its conquest in 1344.

6. A romantic 1878 depiction of the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I held in captivity by Timur after the battle of Ankara in 1402, by the Polish painter, Stanisław Chlebowski. Borys Voznytsky Lviv National Art Gallery, Lviv, Ukraine.

After Bayezid's death, the empire was divided between three of his sons, who ruled territories in Europe and North-Western Anatolia. Soon they became rivals and a bitter civil war broke out, which lasted until 1413 when Mehmed I emerged as the empire's sole ruler. During this time Emperor Manuel II was able to successfully play off the Ottoman pretenders against one another and even managed to negotiate the return of Thessalonica and some other territories to the Byzantines. Given that the Ottomans were preoccupied with one another, and that the threat to Byzantium had lessened, calls for a crusade to the east mostly fell silent during these years, even though it may have been an opportune time to launch such an expedition. Nevertheless, under Mehmed I, the Ottomans soon re-established control over the *beyliks* of Western Anatolia, and by the time of the reign of his son, Murad II, they were once again poised to dominate the North-Eastern Mediterranean and threaten Constantinople.

The power which the new sultan could wield was demonstrated in June 1422 when he laid siege to Constantinople, marking the first full assault on the city since that launched by the fourth crusaders in 1204. Fortunately for the Byzantines, the siege had to be broken off in September, when Murad was forced to confront rivals in Anatolia, but the sultan was able to deal a heavy blow when he captured Thessalonica in 1430. The fall of the empire's second city spurred the new emperor, John VIII, to appeal to the west for aid, but this time with a commitment to agree to Church union in order to sweeten the deal. This was a departure from the policy of Manuel II, who viewed union as a political tool, rather than something that should actually be carried out, which reflects the dire situation of the empire at this time. The Byzantine embassies reached Europe in the midst of the so-called Conciliar Movement, when a series of general councils were convened to limit papal control over the Church. At this point a council in the Swiss city of Basel had been formed to rival Pope Eugenius IV, and the Byzantines were able to play off both sides in order to gain the best advantage for the empire. Eventually they made a deal with the pope in 1437 that a council would meet in Ferrara the following year to negotiate the terms of union. The Byzantine delegates met those of the Catholic Church as expected, but the council had to move to Florence in 1439, where the union was eventually agreed in July. In theory this was a momentous achievement that healed the centuries long schism in the church, but as had been the case with negotiations in the past, it was one thing to agree to union on paper and another for it to be implemented successfully. Predictably, the Byzantine populace mostly rejected union and the opponents of the papacy viewed it as a ruse to bring it money and prestige.

Nevertheless, the Council of Florence can be considered a partial success for the emperor, as it resulted in Eugenius IV setting out plans for a new crusade and issuing indulgences for the defence of Constantinople. Like the Crusade of Nicopolis, the new campaign had the dual aim of both bringing relief to the Byzantines, but also reversing the Ottoman advances in the Balkans, which by the 1440s had reached as far as Belgrade. In the intervening years, the situation had deteriorated rapidly following the death of Sigismund in 1437 and the outbreak of civil war in Hungary. Murad took

7. This medal, by the Italian master Pisanello (1395–1455), commemorated the visit of the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos to the council of Ferrara-Florence, where the union of the Greek and Latin churches was agreed in July 1439.

advantage of the instability by invading Transylvania in 1438 and annexing the despotate of Serbia in the following year, capturing the important fortress of Smederevo on the Danube, only a few miles east of Belgrade. In 1440 the Ottomans launched the first of several attempts to capture the city, but these were beaten back. In 1441 and again in 1442 Christian armies under John Hunyadi, the governor of Transylvania, won important victories against the Ottomans, but the situation was still perilous. Things improved in 1442 when the pope appointed one of his most skilled cardinals, Julian Cesarini, as his legate in Eastern Europe who helped to bring peace to Hungary and thus smooth the ground for a crusade.

Initially the campaign was planned as a joint land and maritime offensive which would combine an army marching from Hungary in the summer of 1443 with a fleet of galleys sailing to the Dardanelles at the same time, which would bring relief to Constantinople and prevent the Ottomans from crossing the Straits. This was also to be coordinated with an attack by Karaman on the Ottomans' eastern frontier. The dual offensive was never achieved though as the Venetians refused to provide their own galleys for the fleet and were slow in fitting out those which the pope had ordered from them. Venice's position was a complicated one: although it sought to protect its interests in the east from the Ottomans, it also had rivals closer to home to content with, not least the Hungarians in the Adriatic and Milan, which had recently allied with the papacy, both of which would profit from Venice sending galleys against the Ottomans and compromising its trade with the sultan. Despite the prevarications of the Republic, the land armies were still raised in the Balkans, thanks to Cesarini's energetic preparations. This force, numbering some 25,000 men from most of the Balkan states, plus mercenaries and volunteers from Europe, set out from Hungary in September, led by Cesarini, Vladislav III, the king of Hungary and Poland, John Hunyadi, and George Brankovich, the exiled despot of Serbia. Like the Nicopolis campaign fifty years earlier, the initial stages of the crusade were promising: the crusaders captured Nish and Sofia and advanced as far as Adrianople, deep into Ottoman territory. However, as winter set in they were forced to withdraw in order to protect their extended supply lines. During the retreat the crusaders suffered a defeat at the Zlatitsa pass, but they were able to reground and subsequently won a victory

over the Ottomans at the Dragoman pass, capturing the son-in-law of the sultan. The army finally reached the safety of Belgrade in January 1444.

Despite not having Venetian assistance, the first wave of the crusade was a triumph, but over the course of the next few months divisions would emerge among the crusader forces, governed by the interests of the various states involved. In the west, Eugenius IV wished to capitalize on the successes of the first wave and pushed for a new campaign to set out in the spring, which the Venetians now agreed to contribute to, persuaded by the victories of the previous year. However, the local states in the Balkans were in a different position. They had successfully pushed the Ottomans back from their frontiers, but were exhausted from a long campaign. Murad, weary of the threat posed by Karaman, was also keen to make peace with his northern neighbours and offered them a ten-year truce, along with generous concessions of territory, including the restoration of the despotate of Serbia. Consequently, the Serbians, under Brankovich, accepted the sultan's conditions, as did Vladislav, although he subsequently reneged on his oath, under pressure from Cesarini.

In the following months preparations for a second wave continued, but with the absence of Brankovich and the Serbians. In July 1444 a fleet of around twenty-two galleys, supplied by Venice, the papacy, Burgundy, and Ragusa, arrived in the Aegean and a month later an army of 20,000 crusaders set off from Buda. This coincided with disturbances within the Ottoman Empire, including a Christian uprising in Albania, which added to a general sense of optimism. But the fleet, possibly hindered by canon fire from the shore and strong currents, was unable to block the Straits and in late October Murad II led an army of 30,000–40,000 men across the Bosphorus, above Constantinople. On 10 November the armies met at Varna on the shore of the Black Sea. The Ottomans outnumbered the crusaders, but the latter held the upper hand for most of the battle. However, when Vladislav was killed leading a charge on Murad's position, the crusaders began to falter. Hunyadi managed to withdraw his troops in good order, but the Ottomans were left as victors, despite suffering heavy losses. No one knows what happed to Cardinal Cesarini, although it is most likely that he was killed in the battle. The Crusade of Varna thus ended in a Christian defeat, despite coming tantalizingly close to victory. The main problems, it seems, were the inability to coordinate the maritime and land forces and the contrasting priorities of the participants, which were laid bare in the winter of 1444 when Brankovich made peace with Murad. For some of the Balkan states at least, the crusade achieved its aim of bolstering their frontiers, but it was damaging for both Byzantium and Venice.

Over the next few years Hunyadi led another campaign against the Ottomans, for which he was awarded crusade indulgences by the pope, but this was decisively defeated at Kosovo in 1448, cementing Murad's control over the Balkan lands south of the Danube. The only territory to put up any serious resistance was Albania, which remained largely independent from Murad, thanks to a successful guerrilla war led by its ruler Skanderbeg and supported at times by the papacy, Venice, and Naples. In the west, the only state to demonstrate any kind of enthusiasm for a crusade in these years

8. Portrait of the Albanian warlord Skanderbeg (*c.*1405–68), who waged a successful guerrilla war against the Ottomans until his death. Portrait by Cristofano dell'Altissimo (1525–1605), Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

was the Duchy of Burgundy, whose ruler Philip the Good, maintained the keen interest in crusading affairs first exhibited by his father during the Nicopolis campaign. Burgundy contributed galleys to the fleet which took part in the Varna crusade and also equipped vessels which patrolled the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea throughout the later 1440s. In May 1451 the duke even took the cross in order to lead a campaign in person to the east, but as was the case with Philip VI of France over a century earlier, his grand plans came to nothing.

Crusading for the Defence of Europe, 1453–1500

In 1451 Murad II died and was succeeded by his 19-year-old son, Mehmed II. At first this was greeted with relief in Christendom as few imagined that the young and inexperienced ruler would pose more of a threat to the Balkans or Constantinople than his father had done, but such feeling soon proved to be disastrously wrong. Mehmed captured Constantinople on 29 May 1453 after a six-week siege. The western powers, for their part, had been lacklustre in their support of the city. The Venetians within Constantinople had helped in the defence, but the senate was slow in dispatching galleys from home. A contingent of Genoese mercenaries had put up a valiant fight, but substantial support was not sent from the mother city nor from the Genoese colonies in the east. The Balkan states and the papacy also failed to act in time. There

9. Portrait of Sultan Mehmed II, attributed to Gentile Bellini, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

are many reasons for the indecisiveness of the Christian powers, but the greatest was the sheer speed at which Mehmed laid siege and captured Constantinople. Most within the Christian world simply did not believe that the city would fall, and especially not as quickly as it did.

Unsurprisingly when the news of Mehmed's victory reached Europe, it was met with shock and disbelief, even surpassing that caused by the fall of Acre in 1291. While that city was undoubtedly important as the last bastion of the Crusader States, Constantinople was perhaps even more significant. It was the capital of the once mighty Eastern Roman Empire which had always preserved a Christian presence in the Eastern Mediterranean, even in the face of Muslim expansion across Africa, Iberia, and Western Asia. The humanists scholars who dominated the political world of Europe during this time also saw the fall of the city as the destruction of Greek civilization at the hands of the barbarous Turks. Many believed that the Ottomans now posed a direct threat to Europe, and especially Italy and Rome, which Mehmed was thought to covet, in a way that the Mamluks never had.

Pope Nicholas V responded by issuing the Crusade Bull *Etsi ecclesia Christi* on 30 September 1453, which described Mehmed II as the second Muhammad and called on recruits from the west to defend Christendom. The greatest response came from the

Duchy of Burgundy where Philip the Good along with 200 nobles solemnly took the cross at an elaborate ceremony known as the Feast of the Pheasant in February 1454. By the autumn plans were in place for a crusade to depart in the following spring, although this had to be put back because of the death of the pope in March. Nevertheless, the crusade was given a boost a few months later when both King Alfonso V of Aragon and Emperor Frederick III also took the cross. In the meantime Mehmed, spurred on by his conquest of Constantinople, had launched a new campaign in the Balkans, making inroads against Skanderbeg in Albania and laying siege to Belgrade with a massive army and artillery in July 1456. A few months earlier in Buda the Franciscan Friar John of Capistrano had been given permission to preach the crusade, which led to a large number of volunteers taking the cross from the local area, as well as further afield. The crusaders under Capistrano joined with a force led by John Hunyadi and marched out to relieve Belgrade, against the far more experienced and better equipped Ottomans. On 15 July, against all the odds, the crusaders broke through the blockade and a few days later they fought off a full-scale assault on the city. Buoyed by their success, they then pursued the Ottomans as they withdrew, winning a significant and unexpected victory. Not only was Belgrade and Hungary saved from conquest, but the victory finally proved that the Ottoman war machine could be defeated, in stark contrast to the earlier debacles at Nicopolis and Varna.

The vulnerability of the Ottomans was also demonstrated at sea in the same summer by a fleet of sixteen papal galleys which retook some Aegean islands and convinced others to stop paying tribute to Mehmed. Evidently the Latins could still overcome the Turks at sea, if the desire to construct a fleet was there. In the following September, Skanderbeg rounded off a miserable few years for the sultan when he defeated an Ottoman army at Albulena. But these setbacks were only temporary and in 1459 Mehmed finally subdued Serbia, followed by the conquest of the Byzantine Morea in 1460 and the empire of Trebizond on the Black Sea in 1461. The crusade planned by Philip of Burgundy and other western powers had predictably been waylaid because of conflicts within Europe, which the next pope, Pius II, hoped to mend by calling for a congress at Mantua in 1459, where western rulers could be united behind a plan for a crusade. The congress was poorly attended, but the pope nevertheless managed to extract promises for an army of 88,000 men, with contributions from France, Venice, Castile, and Portugal. But typically, there was a chasm between words and action and over the next two years it became clear that the promises were not to be kept.

An important development occurred in 1463 with the outbreak of the first Venetian-Ottoman war, following Turkish attacks on Venetian territories in Lepanto and Argos. The drawing of Venice into the conflict in the east was an important stimulus for Pius to revive his crusade plans, but this time taking the radical decision to lead an army against the Turks in person, and in doing so setting an example which other rulers would be obliged to follow. The pope's plan worked and soon Matthias Corvinus of Hungary and Philip the Good had agreed to join the anti-Turkish alliance, along with Venice. On 18 June 1464, Pius took the cross in Rome and set out for Ancona, where he

10. Fresco showing Pope Pius II at Ancona waiting to gather the crusade before his death in August 1464, from the fresco cycle by Pinturicchio in the Piccolomini Library, Duomo, Siena.

intended to rendezvous with a Venetian fleet which would ferry the army across the Adriatic. However, this grand plan collapsed when the pope, who was old and unwell, succumbed to a fever on 14 August, only days after the Venetian ships had arrived, commanded by the doge in person. In the meantime, a contingent of 3,000 men from Burgundy, led by the son of Philip the Good, had reached Marseilles, but they returned home when they learned of the death of the pope, as did crusaders from elsewhere. Given the difficulties in launching a crusade from the west in this period, it is remarkable that Pius' crusade came so close to materializing, even if ultimately it came to nothing.

In the years following the death of Pius II, the conflict with the Ottomans moved from the Hungarian frontier to Greece and Albania, as Mehmed began to contest Venetian dominance of the Adriatic and Ionian Seas. The death of Skanderbeg in 1468 was a severe blow as it removed an important buffer for Venice and allowed the Ottomans to directly threaten its shipping in the Adriatic. In 1470 the situation deteriorated even further when Mehmed conquered the important island of Negroponte. In response the Republic reached out to an unlikely ally: Uzun Hasan, the ruler of the Akkoyunlu confederation; a Persianate and Turkoman Empire descended from that founded by Timur in the previous century, and a natural enemy of the Ottomans in the east. Venice agreed to supply Uzun Hasan with firearms and in 1472, in alliance with the Hospitallers, a joint attack was launched on the Ottomans, with the Latins raiding the Anatolian coast with a fleet of eighty-seven galleys and Uzun Hasan invading the interior. Mehmed responded by sending an army east which defeated Uzun Hasan in 1473, after which peace was made between the two sides. The sultan now turned his full attention back towards the Adriatic, annexing large parts of Albania and laying siege to several Venetian strongholds. The Republic, now in a desperate position, was forced to make peace with the Ottomans in 1479, in exchange for the formal surrender of those Venetian territories taken by the Ottomans in the war and the payment of an annual tribute of 10,000 ducats.

Victory over Venice was proof that the Ottomans were now a serious maritime power in the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as being the dominant force on land. The supremacy of the Ottoman military inspired Mehmed to launch his most audacious military campaign to date: the simultaneous invasion of the island of Rhodes and Southern Italy in 1480. The assault on Rhodes was unsuccessful, but Ottoman troops managed to capture the Apulian town of Otranto in August 1480, thus confirming fears about the sultan's desire to conquer Italy and Rome. But this was not to be. In May 1481 Mehmed died on campaign in Anatolia at the age of 49, possibly poisoned by his son and successor, Bayezid II. In Italy, the papacy and Naples acted decisively against the Ottoman garrison at Otranto, retaking the town in September 1481. Ottoman soldiers would never set foot in Apulia again.

After the relentless campaigning of Mehmed II, the west received a respite of some sort under Bayezid II. This was partly due to the personality of the new sultan, who was less obsessed with military conquest than his father, but also the result of the survival

11. The relics of the Martyrs of Otranto, rumoured to be 800 of the inhabitants of the town who were executed for refusing to convert to Islam after its capture by the Ottomans in August 1480. Otranto Cathedral, Otranto.

of his younger brother and pretender, Cem. After the death of Mehmed both Bayezid and Cem contested the throne, with the former defeating his younger brother twice in battle in Anatolia and forcing him to flee to Rhodes in 1482. When Cem reached Rhodes he was imprisoned by the Hospitallers who had made a prior agreement with Bayezid to keep him as a hostage, in return for an annual payment of 45,000 gold ducats. Hereafter the sultan maintained a relatively conciliatory policy towards the west, content to maintain the payments for Cem's captivity so that he could focus his attention on the Mamluks and the Black Sea.

For the western powers, however, Cem was viewed as a potential figurehead for a renewed crusade against the Ottomans, who could stir up discontent against Bayezid and rally his rivals, as other pretenders had done for the Byzantines in the past, albeit with variable success. In 1490, Pope Innocent VIII held a congress in Rome in order to organize a new crusade which would help instate Cem as sultan, but the findings—that an army of 95,000 men and 75,000 horses would be needed—emphasized the futility of such plans. What is more, the two most important contributors were unwilling or unable to commit: Venice was still reeling from its previous defeat by the Ottomans and did not wish to recommence hostilities, and the king of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus, died unexpectedly in April 1490, plunging the kingdom into civil war.

12. A sea battle between three large Venetian and Turkish carracks during the Ottoman victory at the battle of Zonchio in 1499.

Nevertheless, a few years later, in 1494, the new king of France, Charles VIII, embarked upon an ambitious plan to establish control over the kingdom of Naples, which he had a claim to, and then to launch a crusade with Cem at its head against the Ottomans from his new territories in Southern Italy. Charles entered Rome at the end of 1494 and took possession of Cem, before advancing on Naples and capturing the city on 22 February. The prospects of launching an invasion of the Ottoman Empire looked promising, but three days later Cem died and the invasion was postponed. Shortly after, a host of European powers, including the papacy, Venice, Milan, and the empire, formed an alliance to force the French from Italy. In April 1499, Cem's body was eventually returned to Bayezid, marking the end of the pretender's role in European politics.

In the wake of the French departure from Italy, Venice was able to establish control over some strongholds in Apulia and thus reinforce its position in the Adriatic, but in 1499 Bayezid launched a surprise attack on the Venetians in the Ionian Sea, destroying their main fleet at the battle of Zonchio in August and instigating the second Venetian-Ottoman war. At the same time, Ottoman armies advanced on Venetian possessions in Greece, capturing nearly all of them, including Modon and Coron, considered as the 'two eyes of the Republic' since 1204. In 1500, Pope Alexander VI promulgated a crusade in support of Venice, and although Hungary entered the war on its side in

Map 4. Europe and the Near East after *c.*1300.

Reval
Riga
Königsberg
Vilna
Tannenberg
Azov
CASPIAN SEA
Timisoara
Danube
Orsova
Belgrade
Feodosiya
Sudak
Balaklava
BLACK SEA
Nicopolis
Varna
Sofia
Sozopol
Maritsa
Adrianople
Constantinople
Trebizond
Sebasteia
Ankara
Gallipoli
Bursa
Malatya
Konya
Lepanto
Chios
Smyrna
Corycus
Ayas
Athens
Adalia
Aleppo
Cyprus
Nicosia
Famagusta
Iraklion
Rhodes
Crete
Beirut
Damascus
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Cairo

1501, the important port of Dyrrachion, on the Albanian coast, was seized by the Ottomans in August of that year. The Turks plundered Dalmatia at will and advanced as far as Friuli where the smoke from burning villages could be seen from the top of the Campanile of St Mark. Fearful of what was to come, the Venetians hastened to make peace with Bayezid in 1503, in return for the surrender of many cities in Albania and Greece.

The defeat of Venice in the war of 1499–1503 is further confirmation of the rapid transformation of the Ottomans from a petty Anatolian *beylik* at the turn of the fourteenth century, to the pre-eminent naval and land power in the Eastern Mediterranean 200 years later. In many ways crusading in this period mirrored the rise of the Ottomans, but, as mentioned at the start of this chapter, this change in strategy did not occur immediately. Instead, in the decades following the fall of Acre, the western powers were mostly concerned with launching a *passagium particulare* to recover Jerusalem from the Mamluks, which became increasingly unachievable as financial problems and conflicts within Europe constantly distracted the main crusading powers. As a result, the initiative shifted to the Latins of the east, who began to organize their own localized resistance against the Turks in the Aegean, which the papacy supported. By the time of the Crusade of Smyrna in the mid-fourteenth century, crusading had evolved to the point where a defensive campaign against the Turks was considered a legitimate endeavour for a crusade. The capture of Alexandria by Peter I in 1365 was a temporary aberration, which did little to revive western attempts to liberate Jerusalem. Instead, it distracted attention away from the Ottomans, who by the end of the century had advanced deep into the Balkans, and were also seriously threatening the Christian presence in Constantinople, Greece, and the Aegean. Forming a truly pan-Christian alliance against the Ottomans thus required the participation of a panoply of Christian states, including the papacy, the western kingdoms, the Balkan powers, the maritime republics, and the Byzantines, all with their own priorities. The two main crusades which followed, those of Nicopolis and Varna, both resulted in the amassing of considerable armies, demonstrating the enthusiasm shown for a crusade against the Ottomans, but both also ended in disaster, owing to a mixture of indiscipline and poor coordination, partly due to the contrasting priorities of the participants. The conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II in 1453 marked the next phase in crusading as the Ottomans expanded their power at sea, and came to be considered as posing a genuine threat to Western Europe. The temporary seizure of Otranto in 1480 confirmed these fears, but ultimately Mehmed was unable to expand his empire into Western Europe. Bayezid II adopted a more conciliatory attitude than his father, but this still did not stop him from waging a damaging war against the Venetians at the end of the century, which cemented the Ottomans' place as a Mediterranean super-power.

CHAPTER 14

Varieties of Crusading, c.1200–c.1500

MARK WHELAN

In summer 1421 a famed crusader died ignominiously somewhere in Yorkshire, a prisoner of war of the English crown. His name was John II le Meingre, a French aristocrat from Tours, but known to contemporaries as Boucicaut. Boucicaut had crusaded on land and sea across most of Christendom's frontiers, fighting pagans in Prussia and Lithuania, Ottomans on the borders of Hungary and around Constantinople, and Turks across Southern Anatolia and the Levant. He crusaded against fellow Christians when he fought the English in Flanders in 1383 and he would have joined more crusades——such as the duke of Bourbon's expedition to North Africa in 1390——had his responsibilities at home not kept him so busy. Boucicaut's life underlines both the increasing variety of targets against which crusades were unleashed in the later medieval period and their proliferation across practically every frontier of Latin Christendom: not just pagans in the Baltic, Ottomans in the Balkans, and Islamic polities in North Africa, but also against Christians deemed schismatic or heretical or simply a nuisance. At the same time, the crusade was deployed in ever more diverse geographical settings. Papal bulls and crusading privileges helped support the conquest of the Canary Islands in the Atlantic to Scandinavian efforts to fight the Russians in the Baltic, and later presaged Portuguese expansion into West Africa and supported the Spanish conquest of the New World.

It was in the later Middle Ages that the crusade went global, and as its deployment intensified in Europe and then spread across the Atlantic the movement took different forms and varieties, but retained cohesion in its overarching language, aims, ceremonies, and motifs. One version of Pope Urban II's speech at Clermont in 1095 had the pontiff reference verses from Isaiah, decrying the desolated state of Jerusalem, and it is no surprise that passages also from Isaiah urging the recapture of the holy city featured prominently in Christopher Columbus' prophetic work, written around 1500 between his third and fourth voyages to the Americas. Columbus voyaged west for many reasons, including the hope that Jerusalem could be recovered from the Ottomans by attacking them from behind. Even once the founding of the Americas made this

1. This *Book of Hours* produced around 1408, depicts Boucicaut, marshal of France from 1391, one of the most active crusaders of his generation, fighting in Lithuania, Hungary, around Constantinople and the Levant. Here Boucicaut prays before Saint Catherine, whose monastery at Sinai he visited in 1403, combining a pilgrimage with the sacking of Beirut using Genoese ships in a naval campaign that year.

idea unfeasible, Columbus reassured his patrons in Spain that the money gained from the Indies would pay for a campaign to recover Jerusalem. It may seem odd that Columbus sailed thousands of kilometres west in the 1490s and early 1500s to recover a city to the east that had not been in Christian hands for over 250 years, but such a mindset can be better understood when situated against the evolving and enduring appeal of the crusade in the later medieval period. This chapter will first survey the hold the crusade exerted on contemporary European society by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It will first underline how the movement had increasingly emerged as a way of life, becoming deeply ingrained in European society in the process; second, how the movement developed financial and fundraising mechanisms facilitating the involvement of even the most humble and distant Christians in the efforts to fight Christendom's enemies. It will then examine how different varieties of crusade manifested themselves in different crusading frontiers, starting with Christian attempts to resist Ottoman expansion in the Balkans before focusing on the efforts led by the Teutonic Order to convert or kill the pagan Lithuanians in the Baltic. Finally, it will discuss crusading against fellow Christians, especially the crusades launched during the era of the papal schism between 1378 and 1415 and the anti-Hussite crusades of the early and mid-fifteenth centuries, before finishing with Iberian expansion into North Africa and then across the Atlantic.

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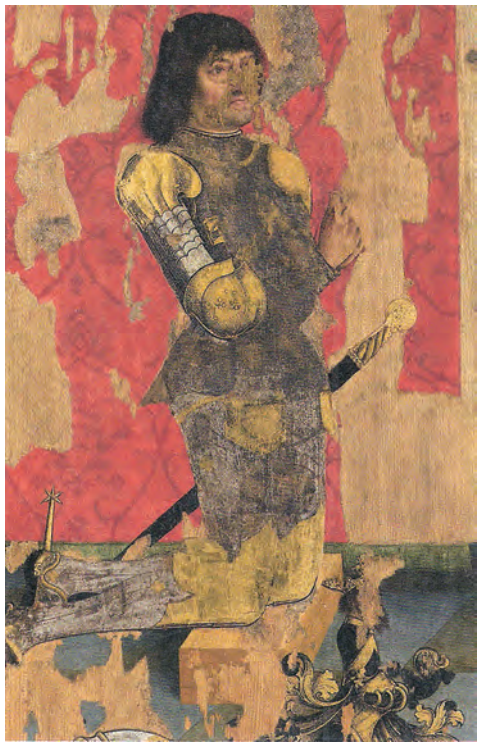
By the later medieval period it is difficult to find a region of Christendom where crusading was not either undertaken or under discussion, and a challenge with making sense of the crusade in the later medieval period is its geographical complexity and political variety. By 1300 there were almost too many options to consider for an aspiring crusader to consider, with too many fronts and enemies to comprehend. In the early 1440s, a certain George of Ehingen, a young German knight from South-Western Germany looking to battle Christ's enemies, wondered whether he should head to Hungary to fight the Ottomans, to North Africa to support Portuguese campaigns against Muslim-held territories, or to the island of Rhodes to support the Hospitallers against the Turks. In the end he opted to fight on behalf of the latter. This turned out to be a poor choice as the Hospitallers chose not to attack the Turks that season, so a disappointed George chose to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land from there, where he was captured by Arabs. His predicament was shared by other crusaders in this period, struggling to decide where to focus their martial energies in the name of Christ. Geoffrey of Charny, a French aristocrat who took part in the crusade that captured Smyrna in 1344 and who later set his hand to poetry, reflected with an autobiographical undertone upon the difficulty that a knight faced when deciding where to fight Christ's enemies. There was no greater thing a knight could do than risk his life fighting enemies of the faith, but just 'where should one go' he pondered. To Granada to fight the Moors, to Prussia to fight the Lithuanians, or to the Balkans to fight the Ottomans? Or 'over the sea', where he himself went in the 1340s, or to Lombardy, where one could take the cross and fight pontiff's enemies? As difficult as it might be, choose a knight must! Some could be flexible indeed when choosing for whom to fight, spying even greater choice than Charny. While touring the South-Eastern Balkans in the later 1380s, for example, the aforementioned Boucicaut offered to fight for the Ottoman sultan, Murad I, but under the important proviso that he would not battle fellow Christians while in his service.

The choice on offer when it came to crusading fronts posed problems for contemporaries trying to keep track of where crusaders fought, both present and past. When a chronicler writing in Paris heard of the king of Navarre's death while on crusade in 1343, he wrote confidently that the monarch died 'fighting the infidels for the faith and for the Church'. When it came to where the king died, however, the chronicler guessed 'either in Prussia or Granada', locations in opposite directions, 2,000 kilometres distant from each other. The author of *The Chronicle of Savoy* in the early 1400s struggled to piece together the crusading exploits of the counts of Savoy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The chronicler relays the unlikely story of one nobleman——called Thomas, or perhaps Humbert——venturing to fight the 'Saracens' in Prussia, dying in battle in 1235 alongside the grand master of the Teutonic Order while battling the king of Lithuania. While the chronicler probably used 'Saracens' not to mean followers of Islam, but as a catch-all term for non-believers that included pagans, the story remains garbled. In 1235 the Teutonic Order had only been in the Baltic for a couple of years and were still establishing their base in Prussia. The order only began fighting the



2. This altar table from around 1490 depicts George of Ehingen, in full armour and girded with his word. From a knightly family in Swabia, he headed to Rhodes hoping to battle the Turks alongside Hospitallers in the 1440s, but arrived to find that there would be no fighting that summer. He had to return home after a failed pilgrimage to the Holy Land where he was captured and ransomed by a group of Arabs for 30 ducats, but later fought the Moors in 1456 at Ceuta, in Morocco.

Lithuanians in the later 1200s, and even then, the latter were ruled by a grand duke, not a king. The grand masters of the Teutonic Order, moreover, were based exclusively in the Holy Land during the 1200s, and would not base themselves in the Baltic until 1309. Even crusaders who lived to tell of their exploits still had their stories muddled by peers. The Florentine citizen Maso de Albizzi was knighted in the field when fighting pagans in the Baltic in the 1380s, but upon returning home his confused friends often claimed instead that he had earned his spurs fighting the Turks while serving the Hospitallers on Rhodes. The matter of overriding importance was not where these individuals battled Christ's enemies, but simply that they had done so. The crusading front may differ, but the renown earned was universal.

The need to record a crusading tradition, even an inaccurate one in the case of *The Chronicle of Savoy*, makes sense when one considers the literature that knights read and heard. In epic poetry, for example, it was inconceivable by the 1300s that a biography would not include at least one crusade. The widely circulated adventures of Sir Guy of Warwick, translated into English as early as 1310, depicted a hero from the tenth century who killed dragons in Northumbria, bested kings in tournaments from Normandy to Saxony, and went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, before becoming a hermit in the woods outside Winchester, but even he was able to squeeze in a crusade. In Guy's case, he rushed to Constantinople when he heard how Turkish attacks imperilled the 'Emperor of the Greeks', beheading the sultan in single combat, and killing 40,000

of his men. The legendary Guy of Warwick had his counterpart in other vernaculars. Joanot Martorell, a Valencian knight who had read Guy's adventures, composed tales about the fictional knight, Tirant lo Blanc, in the mid-1400s. Tirant was a tireless fighter dedicated to the defence of a beleaguered 'Greek Empire' under attack from a magnitude of foes, including Turks, Egyptians, Saracens, various miscellaneous khans, and the sultan of Babylon. Tirant first earned fame by performing feats of arms in England and then managed to go one better than the real-life George of Ehingen by not just travelling to Rhodes, but combatting the Turks while there. Tirant then moved on to help the Greeks, saving Constantinople from Turkish subjugation and retaking no less than 372 cities for the Christian cause across Europe and Asia Minor. Epic fare both the exploits of Guy of Warwick and Tirant lo Blanc may have been, but knights such as Geoffrey of Charny and George of Ehingen grew up listening to such tales and felt compelled to emulate the crusading deeds of their heroes.

The factors driving the increasing variety of crusades from the thirteenth century onward remain contested, but the examples above of noblemen (real or imagined) seeking out opportunities to crusade highlight how by the 1300s, if not earlier, the crusade had grown to be more than a papally sanctioned campaign against a declared enemy of Christ, supported with a discrete set of indulgences, ceremonies, and sermons. The crusade had also become a model way of life, to be emulated by any Christian living in a Latin Christendom that felt itself beleaguered by threats from both within and without. It was the turning of the crusade into a worldview that meshed with everyday politics, the aristocratic mindset, and contemporary concerns over the wellbeing of Christendom, that help account for both the variety of crusades in the period and the continued evolution of the movement.

The hold of crusading on imaginations ran deep in later medieval society, well beyond the elites. Two parish guilds founded in 1384 in Norfolk——one at St Christian's in Norwich and the other at St Mary's in Wiggenhall——both began their meetings with prayers for the recovery of the Holy Land, but the efforts of more humble people could extend far beyond pious supplication. Beginning in the 1200s and intensifying thereafter, the mass expansion of the system surrounding crusading indulgences and fundraising meant that Christians of any standing could contribute to the crusading movement through charitable giving. It is tempting to think of this development as a form of medieval crowdfunding, with the pennies of the faithful across Christendom coming together to support crusades against common Christian enemies, even though still significant sums of money for crusading plans were raised through taxation and other institutional means, levied by kings and nobles in their respective states.

Charity was central to the Christian life, and preachers were adept at personifying oppressed Christian lands and their people as beleaguered, in need of support where any who could contribute should, even if their means were meagre. At one end of the scale stands the bequest of the Shropshire knight, John Burley, who bequeathed £300 to the defence of Rhodes in his will of 1383, while at the other was Roger Whitetoire, a parishioner of St Mary's in Southampton, who pledged one penny in his will of the

later 1340s in aid of the 'Holy Land'. By the 1300s anything remotely valuable could be exchanged for a crusading indulgence, such as the 'old kettles' and bits of scrap copper that papal agent Marinus de Fregello collected in Northern Germany in 1463. This was sent onwards to Rome for smelting into copper coins, to be used to fund the defence of Genoese colonies in the Black Sea against the Ottomans. Rather than desperation, the willingness among indulgence sellers to accept anything of financial worth meant that the poor who previously would only have been able to pray for the crusade could now contribute financially. Such flexibility also came with the bonus that now even the most isolated areas of Christendom——including those with no developed, monetized economy——could support the crusade. In 1327 the ecclesiastical province of Greenland, then the property of the Norwegian crown with a bishop based in Greenland's southern settlement of Gardar, sent about 520 pieces (around 800 kilograms) of walrus tusk to Bruges, where Flemish merchants sold them for cash and funnelled the proceeds belatedly towards the six-year crusade tithe called for at the Council of Vienne in 1311 aimed at recovering the Holy Land. Five thousand kilometres from Rome and 7,000 kilometres from Jerusalem, the harvesting of Walrus teeth in Disco Bay by Greenlandic sailors must represent the farthest geographic zone that supported the crusade before Franciscan preachers sold indulgences to support campaigns against the Ottomans in the Spanish possessions of the New World in the 1510s.

Enthusiasm for crusade was latent throughout society and could intensify unpredictably, underlining its abiding power to motivate. When news spread in the winter of 1319–20 that King Philip V of France was holding talks on launching a crusade in Paris, thousands of *pastoureaux*, local farmers or shepherds, flocked to the city, eager to take part in an expedition that could secure their salvation. Impatient with the slow pace of planning, bands of *pastoureaux* headed south for Spain where they hoped to fight Islamic enemies, but ended up attacking Jewish communities in Southern France instead before being suppressed by French and Aragonese troops. When Belgrade fell under Ottoman siege in 1456, crusade volunteers came from across the region. Nuremberg, one of the largest and wealthiest cities in the Holy Roman Empire, sent a well-equipped and provisioned force of around 800 men, supported in turn by enthusiastic students from the University of Vienna who were swept up with crusade fever by Franciscan preaching. The case of a certain 'Lucy', an English sister of the Trinitarian Order who fought the Turks at Rhodes in 1480, demonstrates that the crusade's appeal could cut across gender too and move people great distances.

Spontaneous volunteering for the crusade could develop a momentum of its own, but the usefulness of untrained and poorly equipped recruits in the eyes of the leaders that had to lead them into battle was often suspect. Upon hearing of the initial military successes experienced by Bishop Henry Despenser of Norwich while on crusade in Flanders in May 1383, a group of London apprentices downed tools and rushed to join the fight. The volunteers turned up armed in a uniform of white hats and red scabbards and bearing red crosses, eager to fight but without provisions and poorly armed, and

the bishop soon dismissed them and other unruly volunteers while besieging Ypres in late summer. Channelling enthusiasm for the crusade into constructive military activity posed problems and could even hamper efforts against a crusade's intended target. When Tamás Bakócz, papal legate and chancellor of the kingdom of Hungary, set about recruiting for a campaign against the Ottomans after securing a papal bull from Pope Leo X in 1514, thousands of peasants from across central Hungary answered his call, assembling under the leadership of György Dózsa, a minor nobleman who had experience fighting the Ottomans. Frustrated by the lack of leadership shown by the kingdom's magnates who appeared reluctant to fight the Turks, the crusading army morphed into a peasant uprising and attacked Hungarian nobles, forcing the king to redeploy forces guarding against the Turks against the rebels. While many may have shared Pope Sixtus IV's concerns——aired in a letter of 1482——that people throughout Christendom dared to condemn the granting of indulgences and the preaching of the crusade, the events of 1514 show that the crusading movement, far from being lifeless, could inspire in unpredictable ways.

Spontaneous volunteering was often accompanied by spontaneous giving, underlining the broad constituency of support upon which the crusading movement could draw. The passage of volunteers along the Danube towards Belgrade in 1456, for example, elicited sympathy from local leaders. In late July that year a city councillor of Bratislava wrote to the mayor of Vienna that rather than sell the ship the latter had given to him, he had instead given it to 'well armed journeymen' who had sewn the cross upon their clothing and had dedicated themselves to fighting the Turks. What the mayor of Vienna made of this decision we do not know, but the councillor emphasized that he 'let the ship go to help and support [the faith] against the unbelievers'. Where one might donate a ship to help crusaders, others might gift their valuables, such as the noblewomen of England mentioned by one chronicler who gave their jewellery in return for indulgences supporting Despenser's crusade in 1383. Others might give mere pennies, but all contributions were welcome and contributing to the crusade in a material sense could earn concrete spiritual rewards. In a crusading bull of 1431, but one that reads like many other papal letters initiating crusade preaching in the period, Pope Eugenius IV confirmed that those who died fighting Turks and Saracens would earn full remission of sins, as would anyone who fought for six months and anyone who gave one one-hundredth of the value of their property in support of the campaign. Deciding what constituted 1 per cent of one's property in cash terms could prove difficult, and preachers and their audience could get bogged down in debating whether they should give 1 per cent of their income or 1 per cent of the total value of their possessions. If the latter, did that include moveable possessions and chattels, or just the value of property and land, and what if someone did not own their own property, but rented it instead? Some attempts to simplify matters were more successful than others. The Crusade Bull of Alexander VI, promulgated in May 1501, asked those who did not want to fight in person to contribute the equivalent of one week's worth of household expenses, while the administrators overseeing the preaching of crusade against the

3. The so-called Jena Codex, produced around 1500, contains a series of illuminations depictng the Hussite crusades. Here, a Hussite army on the left, bearing the banner of the chalice with a caption 'truth conquers' routs a Catholic crusading force on the right, bearing the banner of St George and a baby impaled on a pike. Both sides accused each other of atrocities and the indiscriminate killing of children, women, and innocents.

Hussites in 1427 asked every Christian in the Holy Roman Empire over the age of 15, male or female, to contribute a minimum of 1 Bohemian groat.

The sums of money raised in indulgence campaigns could vary considerably, leading to different degrees of disappointment or approval. One chronicler noted that the preaching of the crusade in Lincolnshire alone in support of Despenser's crusade in 1383 gathered enough coin to fill a wine barrel, while contemporary estimates of the money collected by the sale of crusading indulgences supporting the conquest of Granada in the 1440s and 1450s Castile ran into the millions of ducats. At the same time, indulgence campaigns could also return little or nothing or fall flat entirely. When one cardinal commanded the archbishop of Riga in 1427 to preach against the Hussites in his diocese and raise money to fund troops in the forthcoming crusade aimed at Bohemia, the prelate moaned in a letter to a nearby official that he would not bother. Most of the people in his diocese were not German and probably pagans anyway, he maintained, so they would not care and would not produce any cash. Assessing the efficacy of crusade indulgences remains difficult as they were both widely criticized and widely purchased. A Carthusian monk writing in Austria in the 1450s denounced the selling of crusading indulgences, accusing preachers of the crusade of signing with the cross anyone they could find, including youths, poor people, and liars, as well as even animals and birds. While the Church officials who sold indulgences became stock figures of fun in the work of poets and

writers from Boccaccio in Italy to Chaucer in England, the fact remains that throughout the period there remained Christians from across a broad social base willing to part with their money in exchange for an indulgence and willing to take the cross themselves.

Examining crusading in the Late Medieval period through the responses to preaching and the sale of indulgences can result in a possibly too narrow view of the movement, given that crusading could just as easily occur outside of the framework of official, papally sanctioned, crusade campaigning and indulgence selling. There is a sense that supporting those who fought Christ's enemies earned some sort of reward, whether one had purchased an indulgence or not. A Viennese poet active in the later fourteenth century, Heinrich der Teichner, composed a rhyme recording a conversation between a knight and a peasant. Upon realizing that the knight was headed to Prussia to fight pagans, the peasant offered him some money so that he could share in the honour the knight would gain from defending Christendom with his sword. Tempting it may be to dismiss this conversation as a literary device, the *pastoureaux* of France and the Hungarian peasant crusaders make clear that farmers, shepherds, and peasants could be some of the most active (albeit unpredictable) supporters of a movement that by the 1200s had become deeply engrained in society.

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For several reasons it makes sense to start with the Christian response to the Ottoman Turks in the Balkans, whose seizure of Gallipoli in 1354 announced their arrival on the European mainland. First, the attention the seemingly inexorable Turkish advance attracted throughout Christendom leaves clear marks in an array of source materials produced by contemporaries deeply concerned about the nature of the Ottoman threat. Second, the kingdom of Hungary bore host to the last, large-scale crusades in the movement's history, underlining the continuing ability of the crusade to galvanize international support. Third, it is perhaps in the Balkans where the varieties of crusading on show are at their most numerous, fuelled by need of 'frontline' Catholic and Orthodox states to innovate in their struggle to resist Ottoman subjugation.

There was something seemingly unstoppable about the Ottoman advance, with commentators at the time seeming particularly focused on what the sultan wanted to do with his horses. John Froissart, a chronicler from Hainault, wrote of the Ottoman sultan in the 1390s that he wanted to feed his horse from the altar at St Peter's in Rome, while Sigismund of Luxemburg, the king of Hungary and later Holy Roman emperor, threatened his fellow German princes in the 1420s with the image that although the sultan might be watering his horses in the Danube now, he really longed for his equines to drink out of the Rhine. With hindsight it is clear that the Ottomans lacked the potential to reach Rome or the Rhine, although the temporary seizure of Otranto in 1480 sent shockwaves throughout Christendom, with the image of Turks on Italian soil encouraging the papacy and the kingdom of Naples to retake the city in a combined assault in September 1481. By 1529, nevertheless, Ottoman armies had

4. This annotated map from c. 1453 shows a Christian-Ottoman frontier dominated by fortresses, each bearing a flag displaying either a cross or crescent, punctuated by two bodies of water running from west to east: the Danube running into the Black Sea in the middle, and the Sea of Marmara towards the bottom, with the city of Constantinople's substantial walls and towers and recognizable horned shape clearly visible in the bottom right. The fortress of Nicopolis takes centre place. While a few of the fortress' flags are blank, twenty-one bear the cross while thirty-one bear the crescent, indicating the Islamic hold on the majority of the Balkan strongholds.

reached the gates of Vienna, redrawing the map of South-Eastern Europe in the process. The Catholic kingdom of Hungary, Latin Christendom's Balkan bulwark since its conversion to Christianity around the turn of the first millennium, was in the process of being partitioned after Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent crushed the Hungarian army at Mohács in 1526. Suleyman's predecessors had also eradicated the Byzantine Empire in 1453 with the seizure of Constantinople and conquered the Orthodox polities of Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Serbia. This seemingly inexorable advance of the Ottomans could inspire both despair and resistance. One Catholic cleric lamented from Constantinople in 1436 that the Turks were enslaving so many Christian souls that they had been forced to invent special wagons with extra capacity to transport them, but the fear of subjugation at the hands of the Ottomans also inspired defiance and, as it would turn out, the last, large-scale and multinational crusade.

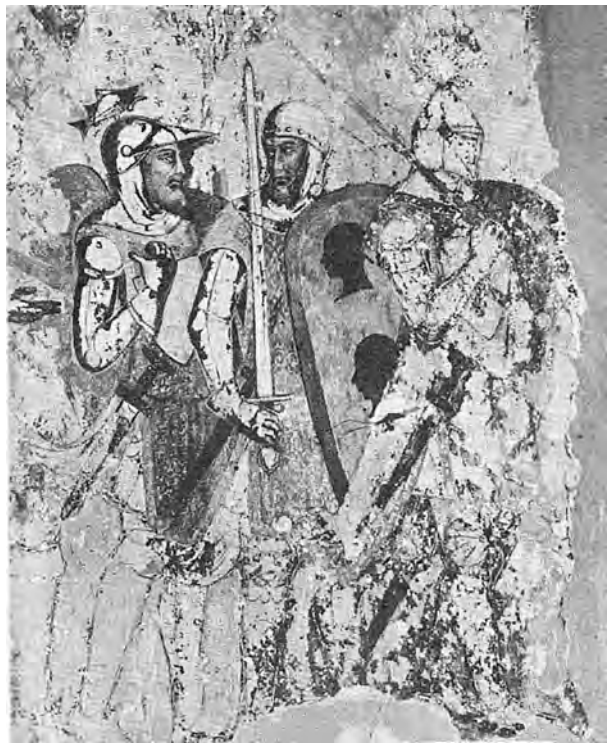
The Crusade of Nicopolis of 1396 was the last significant crusading expedition composed of contingents from across Christendom, attracting leading nobility from as far as France and Burgundy, including the aforementioned Boucicaut. The campaign proved a disaster with the crusade army being crushed by Sultan Bayezid I on 25 September 1396. Many French and Burgundian lords died, with others, notably Boucicaut and John of Nevers, the heir to the duchy of Burgundy, captured. Even those who died in battle managed to make their traumatic experiences known to their peers. Jean de Blaisy, a Burgundian knight who died at Nicopolis, reappeared in a chapel in Paris the following year as a deathly ghost, to interrupt the prayers of his old friend to tell him how dreadful the battle was. Not for nothing did Bayezid boast of his victory against the Christians in letters to fellow sultans as far away as India.

Although the Nicopolis campaign ended in defeat, it did not quell the western desire to come to the aid of Christians fighting the Ottoman Turks, with a relief campaign dispatched from France to Constantinople as soon as 1399, and in its focus on seizing key fortresses the crusade followed an understandable strategy. Contemporary maps envisaged the Danube region as a densely fortified frontier, dotted with fortresses at key points along the river. The key military successes that the Hungarian kingdom would claim in the coming decades came not in the form of pitched battles, the majority of which against the Ottomans they lost, but in the gaining or holding of key fortresses. In a deal struck with the despot of Serbia, Sigismund gained sixteen strongholds in 1427 for the Hungarian crown of which Belgrade was the key, guarding the confluence of the Danube and Sava and capable of screening Southern Hungary from attack. In gaining Belgrade Sigismund did more to secure the security of his kingdom than defeating the Ottomans in any pitched battle, and it is no surprise that the Ottomans targeted Belgrade in both 1440 and 1456. The defence in 1440 was not technically supported by an official crusade, although it was led by a prior of the Hospitallers, John Tallovac. In 1456, however, John Hunyadi's defence of the critical fortress was supported by the crusading bulls of Pope Nicholas V, the preaching campaign of the Franciscan Observant John Capistrano, and volunteers from across Central Europe. In fact, it was only after the loss of Belgrade in 1521 that the core of the

5. A fanciful depiction of the 1396 battle of Nicopolis from a copy of Froissart's Chroniques, produced in the later 1460s possibly for a Burgundian patron. The royal tent with *Rex Hongaria* ('King of Hungary'), sited before the citadel of Nicopolis, is the setting of Froissart's narrative of the battle, where the French and Burgundian contingents overruled Sigismund's battle plan and insisted on charging first, headlong into the Turkish ranks, with disastrous consequences for the Christian host.

kingdom was seriously threatened, opening up the interior to sustained Ottoman invasion, and it is little surprise that within five years the Ottomans had defeated the bulk of Hungarian forces at Mohács and soon after partitioned the regnum, ending Hungary's status as an independent kingdom.

While large-scale crusades such as Nicopolis in 1396 and Belgrade in 1456 stand out in Hungary's efforts to resist the Turkish advance and attract the majority of scholarly interest, smaller campaigns equally deserve attention. Two lessons to take from Nicopolis is that bigger was not necessarily better, and forces needed close naval support, whether fighting on the Danube or around the Mediterranean Sea. Heterogenous armies with multinational contingents could prove difficult to supply, manage, and manoeuvre, whereas smaller, well-trained forces under unified command could achieve success. Amadeo VI of Savoy represented one example where the deployment of limited resources could return important gains. Despite Urban V's publicizing of the crusade against the Turks in 1366 spreading far and wide, Amadeo turned out to be the only major leader to take up the call, mustering around 2,000 men who he took to Venice, hoping to sail east in support of King Peter I of Cyprus against the Mamluks in around fifteen galleys rented from Venice and Genoa. Believing Peter to be at peace with the Mamluks, Amadeo decided to sail to the Black Sea in aid of his



6. Count Amadeo VI of Savoy is shown in the centre of this late fourteenth-century fresco, looking right with his visor open. Alongside him are King Richard I of England and a twelfth-century grandmaster of the Hospitallers, although they are dressed in contemporary plate armour. The fresco illustrates the renown Amadeo earned through his exploits against the Turks and how, in the eyes of some contemporaries at least, he belonged in the pantheon of great crusaders. From the Saladin Hall in the episcopal palace of the bishop of Siena in Colle di Val d'Elsa, near Florence.

cousin, the Byzantine Emperor John V, then held in prison by the Bulgarian ruler while his own lands endured Ottoman attacks. In a focused campaign, Amadeo first wrested Gallipoli from the Turks, installing a garrison there before turning the strategically key fortress over to Byzantine control the next year. He then sailed onwards to the Black Sea where he attacked key Bulgarian possessions to pressure them into releasing John V, which they did by winter 1376. By summer 1377 Amadeo's financial resources were exhausted and after seizing a couple more fortresses from the Turks along the coast around Constantinople, he returned home via Negroponte. It is important not to exaggerate Amadeo's success. After all, Gallipoli was back in Turkish hands again within a decade, but the Savoyard count's expedition demonstrated how a well-organized expedition with naval support could roll Ottoman conquests back.

Amadeo's expedition also highlighted the varied sources of support upon which smaller crusading expeditions could draw upon. Although largely Savoyard in its composition, Amadeo's army contained recruits from across Christendom, underlining how it was not just large-scale crusades such as Nicopolis that enjoyed an international character. Amadeo's army included, for example, two squires from Hungary who helped fight the Bulgarians and Sir Maurice le Bruyn of England, who stayed behind in Gallipoli to guard the fortress after helping seize it. Nicholas Sabraham, a soldier from England, fought with Amadeo throughout 1366–7 and rather than return home, decided to take ship to the east from Negroponte and continue fighting the infidel. Amadeo was also joined by a lord from Dordrecht, Daniel van der Merwede, who, according to his funeral oration written up in the 1380s at least, challenged twenty-one Turks to single combat outside Gallipoli along with twenty of his companions. One gets the impression that some of the lord's crusading antics had grown in the telling: the herald who spoke at his funeral announced that van der Merwede had seized Gallipoli in the company of John V too, something that was clearly impossible given that the Byzantine emperor was still in a Bulgarian prison at that point. Whatever the case, participation in the crusade had clearly been an important part of Merwede's life, and the renown earned by Amadeo secured him a place alongside other famous crusaders, including King Richard the Lionheart of England, in one fresco cycle in Northern Italy within his lifetime, highlighting the repute attached to taking the cross in defence of Christendom.

Amadeo was, in fact, one of many who led smaller campaigns to resist the Ottoman advance. Whereas the Green Count launched his expedition in relatively helpful circumstances, with papal backing as well as Hungarian, Genoese, and Venetian support, and before the Ottomans were too entrenched in the Balkans, others dispatched help in more trying conditions. The shockwaves sent through Christendom by the defeat at Nicopolis did not dampen the desire to support Constantinople at Rome, with Pope Boniface IX ordering crusade preaching in 1398, 1399, and 1400, to support the Byzantine emperor. Nor did defeat dampen enthusiasm at the royal court at Paris. Arriving back in France in 1399, Boucicaut departed almost immediately for the east

again in aid of Constantinople. Taking the sea route this time, Boucicaut left Aigues-Mortes in Southern France in four large sailing ships and two galleys with a contingent of 1,200 men. Successfully repulsing an Ottoman naval attack while sailing past Gallipoli, Boucicaut arrived in Constantinople safely, where his well-trained and mixed force of men at arms and archers provided relief to a city under blockade. After resting for five days, Boucicaut set about attacking Ottoman strongholds across the region in combined land and sea raids for the better part of a year, until his lack of funds compelled him to return home. One chronicle claimed that throughout this year of fighting, the French aristocrat never spent more than eight nights in a row in Constantinople for he was so busy taking the fight to the sultan. Boucicaut's exploits may not have saved Constantinople on their own, but they certainly prolonged the city's resistance, and his efforts also gave Emperor Manuel II the confidence to leave his city and seek help in person in the west. In this case, however, buying time proved sufficient, as Sultan Bayezid was captured in battle near Ankara in July 1402 by the lord of Samarkand, Timur, and the blockade that threatened Constantinople melted away. The crusading activity of the 1390s may have disappointed contemporary expectations in not sweeping the Turks out of Europe and reclaiming the Holy Land, but it nevertheless meaningfully aided the Christian cause.

Amadeo and Boucicaut are not isolated examples. Pedro of Portugal, prince of the royal house of Aviz and duke of Coimbra, similarly raised a small force to help defend Christendom against the Turks. Having developed a taste for battling the infidel after being knighted in the field after the Portuguese conquest of Ceuta in 1415 (discussed below), Pedro set out in the early 1420s with a retinue of around 400 horsemen, paid for out of his own income and supplemented with loans from the Medici bank. One source in 1428 claimed that Pedro entered Venice with 400 horsemen in tow, a hundred of which were his personal guard. Even though his expedition was not launched in response to a specific papal bull initiating a crusade, Pedro's men went into battle wearing the cross of St George and had all taken 'a vow', presumably a crusading one. Pedro spent the summer of 1426 and the following winter fighting in the critical border zone along the Danube between Belgrade and Severin, where Serbian, Ottoman, and Hungarian armies repeatedly clashed, while also taking part in a military foray to the east, to support Sigismund's allies in Wallachia. Contemporary sources emphasized the important role Pedro played in the fighting and the prince received a taste of the different nature of campaigning there. The winter of 1426–7 saw the Danube freeze over, and Pedro was so fascinated upon seeing the movement of men and military apparel across the ice to help press Hungarian raids into Ottoman territory that he wrote about it to his relations. The Venetians were struggling to hold onto Thessalonica at this time, then under Ottoman siege, and hopes were raised in correspondence that circulated as far away as Crete that with Pedro in support, Sigismund could push across the Danube and partly into Greece, relieving pressure on the embattled port. This did not come about as Pedro departed Hungary in spring 1427, but it is important to not assess the results of military campaigning against the basis of

Ou de temps apres
ce que le conte de
nouers fut enuoye
en france il fut
enuoye en ambaxade vng
seigneur grec appelle Catoru
seno de par lempereur de con
stantinople que on nommoit
Caramanoli. Le quel supplioyt
au roy charles quil voulsist
pour honneur de la foy xpienne
et amour de nre seigneur Jhu
crist lui donner secours et aide
contre les turcqz ou que autre
ment toute lempire de grece
seroit bref perdue par ce quil
ne leur pouoit plus resister.
Et pour celle chose mesmes
enuoyerent aussi les deuers
le roy les venciens et jenne
nois remonstrans le grant
peril ou estoient tous les xpiens

7. Marshal Boucicaut sails to the aid of Constantinople (1399). A full page illumination from Sébastien Mamerot's *Expeditions to Outremer* (*Les passages d'Outremer*), written and illuminated in the early 1470s.

often hopeful contemporary expectations. Pedro's expedition to Hungary in 1426–7 underlined the usefulness of a comparatively small and disciplined crusading force, well armed and capable of fighting for extended periods of time and not just for a month or two in the summer.

Other volunteers came to Hungary with fewer men, but were nonetheless helpful for that. Zawischa the Black, a knight from the kingdom of Poland, died along with several other kinsmen at the Siege of Golubac in 1428, a fortress on the southern bank of the Danube east of Belgrade. The fighting at the siege was chaotic. A Hungarian countess commanded one of the Hungarian ships in lieu of her husband for a brief stint, flying within arrowshot of the Turkish-held fortress to get a good shot at the walls with the guns on board, but after bitter fighting Sigismund was unable to seize the fortress. For a brief while, in fact, Sigismund himself was stranded on the south side of the Danube and about to be captured by the Ottoman army, but Zawischa and his companions promised to marshal a rearguard action, buying time for the king to take ship and escape. Zawischa and his fellow Poles perished holding the line, and a poem glorifying the knight's brave and noble actions circulated in Poland soon after his death, first in Latin and then in Polish, emphasizing his martyrdom and sacrifice for the faith. Not for nothing is the phrase 'trust me like Zawischa', indicating a promise which will never be broken, still part of the Polish language today. It was not just Hungary's direct neighbours who contributed to the kingdom's defence against the Turks. Knights and soldiers, as individuals or in smaller groups, came to the Balkans from the farthest geographical reaches of Christendom. Gilbert Renfrew, a knight of Scotland, secured a papal blessing and privileges in 1457 after fighting for three years at his own cost alongside sixteen companions against the Turks in Hungary, while the Englishman Robert Champlayn, a knight of the royal Order of the Garter, similarly fought in Hungary a couple of decades later, seemingly journeying there on his own and receiving a letter of commendation from King Matthias Corvinus in praise of his service.

It can be tempting to dismiss the repeated plans of popes and princes to crusade against the Ottomans as idle rhetoric, but the individual knights above demonstrate that the opportunity to indulge in spiritually meritorious warfare in support of one's fellow Christians could still attract volunteers from across Christendom. By the later 1300s and early 1400s, however, there was a sense in some circles that the appeal of the crusade needed to be refashioned, to better attune with the martial and chivalric outlook of the knights most needed to take the cross. One such individual, already mentioned above, was Philip of Mézières, a crusader in his youth who turned crusade propagandist in his later years. Throughout his life Mézières mused about creating a chivalric order, the Order of the Passion, whose primary aim would be to retake the Holy Land, coming up with the final version of its rule in the run-up to the Crusade of Nicopolis in 1396. Mézières dreamed of recruiting 1,000 knights, all of whom would dedicate themselves to living in imitation of Christ, retaking the Holy Land, and then residing there afterwards. Upon his death, however, he had only recruited eighty-seven

individuals, and although his order died with him, the attempt to ally martial valour, chivalric values, and the crusading ideal was repeated throughout Christendom.

The number of chivalric orders which could include battling Christ's enemies and retaking the Holy Land within its core aims multiplied rapidly in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, beginning with King Peter of Cyprus' Order of the Sword (founded in 1347), whose statutes specifically dedicated its members to retaking Jerusalem. There are too many orders to examine here, but the Order of the Dragon, founded by Sigismund in Hungary in 1408, exemplifies key trends. It brought together Sigismund and the leading barons of his realm and important neighbours, although it contained its fair share of contradictions. The fact that one of its aims was to battle the schismatics, that is the Orthodox Christians, may have puzzled Stephan Lazarević, despot of Serbia, of Orthodox faith himself and one of its founding members. The order's statutes also never defined who the 'followers of the ancient dragon' were, nor the order's principal enemies, nor the 'pagan knights', and in fact it never mentions Islam or Ottoman Turks, but it was clear in practice that the latter were its principal enemies. Sigismund invited selected nobility and knights from outside of the kingdom of Hungary to join the order, ranging from royal princes of Castile and Aragon to the dukes of Austria, to wear its distinctive dragon badge and fight the Turks, some of whom did indeed aid him against the Ottomans. When Sigismund visited Rome in 1433 to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor, he petitioned Pope Eugenius IV to attach a

8. In the 1390s Philip de Mézière completed the rules for his chivalric order, the so-called Order of the Passion, whose primary aim would be to retake the Holy Land. A manuscript from the later 1300s shows an imaginary male member of Mèzière's Order, dressed in chainmail and armed with sword and dagger, bearing the garb of the Order, the cross of St George.

crusading indulgence to the order itself. The papal response endowed all those who fought against the Turks and schismatics and heretics under the aegis of the Order of the Dragon with the same remission of sins and penalties that crusaders venturing to acquire the Holy Land enjoyed, inextricably aligning the order's role in protecting Hungary with the defence of Christendom.

The success that these newly branded chivalric orders enjoyed in encouraging supporters to battle the Turks remains debatable, but they nevertheless highlight the development of another variety of crusading. In the case of the Order of the Dragon, its appeal endured and became more than simply a pet project of a middle-aged king and emperor. In the 1460s a very grateful King Matthias Corvinus inducted into the order the Burgundian knight, Jean de Rebremettes, instructing him to wear his dragon badge whenever he could in memory of the royal love he had earned and in recognition of his service against the Turks. Perhaps the lesson to draw here is that contemporary rulers and leaders confronted with the challenge of recruiting fighters needed to make their 'fight' more attractive, given the surfeit of crusading opportunities that existed in contemporary Christendom. This need enters sharper relief when one considers that the polity most innovative in attracting crusaders to their banner was not a duchy, principality, republic, or kingdom, but in fact a monastic state: the Teutonic Order in Prussia, in modern-day Northern Poland, whose grand masters from the early 1300s succeeded in turning their region into a crusading crucible, and it is to the Baltic we now turn.

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The Teutonic Order, who moved their headquarters from Venice to Marienburg in Prussia (now Małbork, in Northern Poland) in 1309, had two trump cards when encouraging their fellow Christians to take the cross and join them in the Baltic. First, the neighbouring grand duchy of Lithuania was the last pagan polity in mainland Europe until their rulers' official conversion to Catholic Christianity in 1386, offering the chance to fight an enemy contemporaries could find nowhere else. When Chaucer introduced his knight in his *Canterbury Tales*, the poet made clear that he won renown and fame for fighting 'as wel in cristendom as hethenesse', with 'heathenness' (literally, the land of the heathens), meaning the pagan territory in Prussia and Lithuania, carrying a distinct allure. Second, in an era when most warfare took place in the summer for practical and logistical reasons, the icy temperatures in the Baltic meant that men and horses and sleds could use the frozen waterways as roads to penetrate deep into Lithuania meaning there could be campaigns——or *reise*, German for 'journey' or 'voyage', as they were called——twice a year. The significance of the second point is often underplayed in modern scholarship. Boucicaut was disappointed when his king forbade him from taking part in a crusading expedition aimed at North Africa in summer 1390 because he needed him around in Paris, but Boucicaut was still able to sneak away for a *reise* in Prussia in the winter months, when royal business was less urgent. Rutger Raitz, originally a citizen of Cologne but who turned to fighting and the life of a knight, spent his summers serving the king of France, fighting in the battles at

Crécy (1346) and Poitiers (1356), and numerous other sieges and expeditions, but was able to squeeze in a tremendous thirty-two winters fighting in Prussia (compared to only three summers in the Baltic——the years when he was not needed for summer campaigns in France were few) between taking up arms in 1328 and his death in 1369. In journeying to Prussia to fight under the banner of the Teutonic Order, Raitz had counterparts from across Christendom. Although the majority of the knights and nobles headed to the Baltic came from Central Europe, France, and the British Isles, volunteers also made the journey from Spain and Italy, and came from a broad social base. Commoners, knights, lords, and kings: all took the cross and fought for the Teutonic Order, from the anonymous *anglici* captured by Poles in the winter campaign of 1391 to King John of Bohemia, who took part in a winter campaign on three occasions between 1327 and 1345. It is no surprise that historians often identify the Baltic as the principal crusading theatre in the fourteenth century.

What made individuals such as Raitz repeatedly risk their lives and spend their own resources fighting in a wintery wasteland? The answer lies in the mixture of hospitality, spiritual privileges, and renown on offer. It might be going a bit far, as some historians have, to label the crusades in Prussia medieval 'package holidays', but not too far. By the later 1300s, the grand master had a retinue of around a hundred servants who could entertain visiting knights and nobles with the luxury and ceremony they felt entitled to. Financial accounts from the turn of the 1400s reveal that the grand master had heralds to announce the arrival of distinguished volunteers, jesters to entertain them, and a troop of five dwarves to dispense gifts, as well as musicians to fill his halls with music while his most distinguished guests ate at the 'honour table'. He also had the obligatory menagerie befitting of a great prince, which included everything from lions and beavers to a gaggle of boisterous monkeys. The latter were once left in Marienburg's chapel overnight and peeled chunks of the wall, wrecking the images of the Virgin Mary. However, keeping such animals was worth it, for it was what European nobility did. In the chapel too——from at least 1400, but probably much earlier——was a crusading indulgence, not far from the altar, copied out in large script, leaving no one in doubt about the spiritual rewards one received when fighting for the order. Wherever they came from, volunteers would have found both a world they recognized and, with delicacies such as rice served on silver plates in centrally heated halls, a world they perhaps could not enjoy at home. It is no wonder that veterans of the Baltic crusades were nostalgic. In an audience with King Henry IV of England at Eltham Palace in 1410 that was supposed to be about the grain supply, a Hanse emissary reported back to the grand master that the king reminisced about his time in 'Pruce'. Before he became king, Henry had crusaded in Prussia and it had clearly left an impression. Describing himself as a 'child of Prussia', the king went on to say that out of all the places he had fought, he most preferred fighting in Prussia.

As well as the hospitality and the guarantee of earning spiritual privileges, the renown and fame on offer also influenced contemporaries to venture to Prussia. When the king of Naples founded his chivalric Order of the Ship in 1381, he reserved

the bearing of the order's banner solely for members with the rank of prince or above, but with the notable exception that if they had fought in Prussia then any member of any rank could fly the banner. Crusading in Prussia could increase an individual's status in a visible and meaningful way, and the manner in which crusaders had described their actions underlines the almost super-heroic prestige that one hoped to gain from venturing there. A poet praising the duke of Austria's participation in a *reise* of 1377 claimed that over 20,000 people had been massacred, making it the 'grandest massacre' since the times of the pharaohs. A poet in the French court claimed that in winter 1328–9 the king of Bohemia had ridden over ice, endured many other hardships, and captured four Lithuanian fortresses, killing everyone within. The king had also managed to squeeze in the baptism of some 6,000 pagans into the Christian faith and had laid to waste a great stretch of land, which the poet helpfully said was greater than the distance between Paris and Bruges, to help fix the royal achievement better into the imagination of his audience. Some individuals were ruthless in exploiting the social capital that came from fighting in the *heathenesse*. After fighting for only one summer in 1390, the Burgundian knight Regnier Pot took on the nickname Palamedes, after the legendary Sir Palamedes who sat at King Arthur's round table.

Other more rudimentary motivations encouraging people to fight for the Teutonic Order also feature in the source materials. Earning a lady's love by excelling in martial valour in the cold pagan reaches of the east features in the romantic poetry of the 1300s, but Guillaume de Machaut, a poet writing in the mid-1300s, reminded his readers that the love of a lady would not mean much if you drowned under the ice in some Prussian bog. Going on crusade was also a nice chance to dress up. Mézières complained that the knights who travelled to Prussia to fight pagans frequently looked as if they were going to a wedding. For some individuals, it was often easier to go on crusade than to stay at home. Charles of Savoisy, a French aristocrat in Paris in 1406, found it too difficult to decide whether to support his king or the Burgundian duke in the opening phases of a dispute that was boiling over into civil war, so instead avoided the decision by going to fight in Prussia for a season. None of this should distract from the deadly fighting and the campaigning conditions. The funeral oration of Dietrich von Elner, a knight from near Düsseldorf who fought several times in the Baltic, noted how hunger and frostbite caused immense suffering both for himself and fellow volunteers fighting in Lithuanian in the winter of 1348. Staying on for the summer campaign, he was wounded so badly when storming a fortification that he was left for dead for two hours. Many volunteers would never return. In the parish church of St Margaret's in Felbrigg, Norfolk, a brass from the later 1300s commemorating Sir Roger Felbrigg who died fighting near Kaunas in 1368 can still be seen today, and simply reads '…he died in Prussia, and there his body is buried'.

The *reise* declined in popularity in the early 1400s, and by 1422 the grand master could lament in one letter that there were no 'guests' in Prussia who could help him fight his neighbours. On the one hand, the conversion of Jogailo, grand duke of Lithuania, to Catholic Christianity in 1386 and his accession as king of Poland (under

the name Vladislav II), both undermined the order's claims to be engaging in spiritually meritorious warfare and arrayed them against a crowned Christian king. The stiffening resistance of the Lithuanian and Polish forces perhaps played a role in encouraging aspiring crusaders to look to other frontiers for easier pickings, and after a generation or so the order's propaganda that the Lithuanians and their leaders were secretly pagans was beginning to wear thin. A Dominican preacher, Johannes Falconberg, authored a rabid text in the mid-1410s calling Vladislav a pagan dog and listing no less than eight reasons why killing one of his Polish subjects was worthy of eternal life, but public opinion was shifting against the order. Falconberg was tried for heresy for calling for the death of a Christian king in 1418, and although he was acquitted, he nonetheless retracted his text six years later. On the other hand, however, crusading opportunities were opening up elsewhere, within the heartlands of western Christendom itself in fact, shifting the martial energy of the European knightly caste from Prussia much closer to home. It is to crusading in Western and Central Europe against alleged 'schismatics' and heretics that we now turn.

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Crusading against Christians did not always sit easily with contemporaries. A hint of criticism emerges in Sebastien Mamerot's *Expeditions to Outremer*, written in the early 1470s, when he omitted any campaigns involving French nobility between the crusade of Louis IX in 1271 and Duke Louis of Bourbon's crusade to North Africa in 1390, because 'they did not lead any great army overseas with the sole intention of recovering the Holy Land or attempting the conquest of pagans, Turks or other Saracens'. In a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury in 1383, the English theologian John Wyclif wrote more pointedly that 'the erection of the cross for the defence of the papal cause' against fellow Christians was both unlawful and was not approved by Christ. Wyclif was writing in a heady atmosphere, suffering from the repercussions of 1378. In that year, after the death of Pope Gregory XI in Rome, a divided College of Cardinals elected two popes within six months, splitting the Papal See between one pope resident in Avignon and one in Rome, creating the so-called Western Schism that would last until 1415. This split Latin Christendom in allegiance, with kingdoms such as France and Scotland pledging allegiance to Pope Clement VII in Avignon, while England and Hungary supported Urban VI in Rome. Within a matter of months each pope was declaring crusades against their respective 'anti'-pope and their now 'schismatic' ecclesiastical and secular supporters. Of course, rival popes offering crusade indulgences to their respective supporters was nothing new but the atmosphere in the later 1370s and early 1380s was far more intense.

Urban VI preached the crusade first, against Clement VII and his Breton mercenaries in 1378 who had invaded Italy in an attempt to seize Rome. Clement VII responded in turn in 1382, granting crusading indulgences to any who supported a French expedition aimed at Urban's supporters in Naples. Other crusades followed in the mid-1380s and the 1410s, but the highest profile crusading expedition during the Great Schism

materialized the following year, when Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich, took an English crusading force to Flanders, supported with crusading bulls issued by Urban VI, where it faced off against an army mobilized by the French crown, supported with crusade indulgences issued by Clement VII. The crowns of England and France were at war at this time, and leaders on both sides proved eager to exploit their enemy's new nature as schismatics, on top of being traditional national enemies.

Despenser's crusade has been called 'the Hundred Years War thinly disguised' and a case can be made to suggest that the crusade was a secular campaign dressed up in religious clothing. It was aimed at supporting English interests in Flanders against the French crown, Despenser's military recruitment was largely paid for by parliamentary grant, and he went into battle bearing not just a papal banner, but one displaying his family arms too. The campaign itself was also a grubby one. The crusade was technically aimed at the 'Clementist' schismatics, but Despenser largely attacked his own side, such as the 'Urbanist' city of Ypres, leaving the impression that it was the English crown's objectives that guided the campaign. On the other hand, Despenser's crusade excited contemporaries in England in a way that a 'normal' military campaign aimed at France simply did not. Commoners with little or no previous military experience volunteered to fight without pay, and a contemporary English chronicler was particularly proud of the clergymen from England who had taken the cross and distinguished themselves in the bloodletting during a battle around Dunkirk, both forms of participation not usually seen in the campaigns of the Hundred Years War. After encountering initial success in Flanders, Despenser's crusading force got bogged down besieging Ypres and split apart upon the approach of the French relief force, with Despenser's captains disobeying orders and selling their captured fortresses and retreating to safety rather than risk battle. Despite this miserable end, appetite remained in English circles to try again. A similar crusade was attempted in 1386 by John of Gaunt, uncle to King Richard II, mixing a contract army raised with parliamentary money and crusade indulgences and joined by a volunteer crusading force. The crusading expedition was taken to Spain, where Gaunt hoped to press his claim to the Castilian throne.

The Great Schism was healed in 1417 at the international ecclesiastical Council of Constance, convened by Sigismund of Luxemburg in his capacity as Holy Roman emperor-elect, the *de-facto* secular head of the Church, who succeeded in forcing the existing popes to abdicate and acquiesce in the election of a single and undisputed pope: Martin V. With one schism healed, the council then helped ignite another, this time in the kingdom of Bohemia, initiating no less than five major crusades between 1420 and 1431. The origins of the uprising in Bohemia that removed the kingdom from allegiance to king and pope are too complex to discuss here, but were ignited by the trial of Jan Hus for heresy at the Council of Constance, a radical Czech theologian, who was found guilty and burned at the stake in 1415. The execution of Hus aroused anger in Prague that fused with the native clergy and nobility's suspicion of German rule and a strong desire to pursue their own religious priorities that marked them out as 'heretical'

9. Jan Hus burned at the stake for heresy (1415), on account of his radical reformist ideas. His execution at the Council of Constance led to a widespread revolt in Bohemia and his supporters, the Hussites, repelled five crusades sent against them.

in the eyes of their enemies. Unhappy with the accession of Sigismund of Luxemburg to the Bohemian throne in 1419, a Hussite uprising that began in Prague soon successfully captured the majority of the kingdom, prompting Martin V to declare a crusade against the heresy in Bohemia in March 1420.

The Hussite crusades consumed most of the political and diplomatic oxygen in Christendom between the later 1410s and mid-1430s. There was something uniquely

threatening about an entire Catholic kingdom removing itself from papal obedience, prompting concern from across Europe. Martin V wrote in 1423 that the Hussites were worse than the Turks and pagans, repeating in 1428 how they were tearing down all sense of political and civil order in Christendom. Shifting alliances of Catholic powers launched five unsuccessful crusades drawing largely, but not always, upon participants from the German-speaking areas of the Holy Roman Empire. A particularly complex plan was hatched in 1427, when Sigismund and Martin V convinced Henry Beaufort, the bishop of Winchester, to take charge of the crusade against the Hussites and bring English military might to bear against Bohemia. After taking a small force of English archers and men at arms to fight in Bohemia in 1428, Beaufort set about raising a bigger crusading force in England for service in 1429, using money from the sale of crusade indulgences and papal loans routed through the Medici bank, but in a shocking move he took the army to serve in France, in support of English interests. A Venetian merchant in Bruges at the time writing to a friend could not quite believe that an army signed with the cross and paid for by the pope was now fighting the French, ending his letter calling for God to judge the cardinal. Successive mishaps and military defeats did not deaden the appetite for the next campaign, but served only to increase the depth of planning and degree of organization. The final crusade, launched in summer 1431, was the most ambitious yet, involving a field army of perhaps 30,000 men that targeted Western Bohemia while the duke of Austria led a feint with his army through Moravia. The main force was nevertheless defeated by a resolute Hussite force, who negotiated an agreement with the pope in 1434 where they were able to pursue their own religious aims in return for nominally accepting the authority of the pope, a state of affairs that would persist until the 1600s.

It might seem that crusading against Christians had become a 'free for all' by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the papacy (whether in schism or not) turning a nominally 'secular' campaign into a religious expedition when they fancied. King Henry VIII of England was allowed to brand his campaign against the king of France in 1512 as a crusade, supported with papal indulgences and a preaching campaign, and some popes proved keen to label their own conflicts so too. In revenge for sheltering a papal fugitive, Pope Sixtus IV declared a crusade against the Swiss city of Basel in December 1482, vindictively authorizing crusaders to capture citizens of the city and sell them as slaves. In terms of the crusade and potential targets, however, there were lines that popes did not want to cross. The continuing desire of the English crown to have their efforts to subjugate Ireland an official crusade remains a case in point. In spring 1421, the parliament of the English lordship in Ireland petitioned King Henry V of England to ask that the pope grant their fight against their native 'Irish enemies' the status of a crusade, and the kings of England had petitioned the pope as early as 1331 with the same request. By the 1400s the popes had refused now successive English requests for almost a century and would continue to do so, and successive popes similarly refused to allow either the English or the French crowns to brand their

10. Flying the banner of the Virgin Mary and backed by crusading privileges, Gadifer la Salle, a Breton knight and veteran of two campaigning seasons in Prussia and of the duke of Bourbon's expedition to North Africa in 1390, embarked on the conquest of the Canary Islands in 1402. His attempts were unsuccessful, and the islands were only brought under Christian dominion after campaigns waged by forces of the kingdom of Castile between 1478 and 1496, similarly supported by crusading indulgences.

campaigns against each other as crusades, even though this state of affairs temporarily broke down in the heady opening phases of the schism in the late 1370s and early 1380s. Successive popes instead were much keener on helping Christian princes focus their energies on retaking formerly Christian territory in Southern Spain and North Africa and then carving out new conquests for Christendom beyond, a process that grew in ambition in the course of the fifteenth century, beginning with the Canary Islands in the very early 1400s and expanding to include Africa down to the mouth of the river Congo and the New World in less than a century.

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Crusade indulgences fuelled the reconquest of formerly Christian territories in Southern Iberia and Northern Africa, and propelled European colonization of first nearby Atlantic islands and then the New World. Gadifer la Salle, a veteran of two campaigning seasons in Prussia and one in Hospitaller Rhodes and who had fought in the duke of Bourbon's crusade to Mahdia in 1390, embarked on the conquest of the Canaries in 1402 with his companion Jean de Bethencourt, setting in motion a series of military campaigns overseen predominantly by Iberian monarchs aimed at other targets in the region. The newly united kingdoms of Castile and Aragon in 1479 may appear, in modern perception at least, as the crusader state *par excellence* given their eradication of the emirate of Granada in 1492, the last Moorish state in mainland Europe, as well as their patronage of the Genoese explorer Christopher Columbus, but it was the crown of Portugal that took the lead. After a string of sometimes hard-won conquests along North and Western Africa, by 1483 Portuguese explorers had reached the mouth of the Congo, presaging a European presence in Africa that would last for centuries. It was, however, the Portuguese conquest of a city on the Straits of Gibraltar in August 1415 that represented the start of this process of exploration and conquest. The target in 1415 was the Islamic-held city of Ceuta and was supported by a papal bull and a round of crusade preaching, although the crusade was only publicized once the fleet had set sail to preserve secrecy.

The Portuguese capture of Ceuta rippled throughout Christendom. A contemporary chronicle in Lübeck ended its account of King John I's campaign with 'and so the city was captured for the Christians'. The king of Portugal wasted no time in adding 'Lord of Ceuta' to his list of titles and was in a position now to offer an almost guaranteed opportunity to fight the infidel to any who made the journey, opening up a new *heathenesse* for aspiring crusaders. The next year, at the international ecclesiastical Council of Constance, a Portuguese delegate publicly declared in session that they had seized Ceuta on behalf of Christendom, gaining 'the door and key' to all of Africa in the process. Ceuta perhaps came to absorb too much energy in the eyes of the kings of Portugal, whose efforts to seize other outposts in North Africa were made more difficult by the fact that an easy outlet for crusading energy existed, diverting support at critical times. A priest from the diocese of Porto was so excited by the crusade preaching authorized in 1435 aimed at supporting the Portuguese conquest of Tangiers

that he took ship straight away. The priest headed to Ceuta, however, along with many others, and the diversion of support away from the Portuguese flotilla that went to attack Tangiers contributed to its defeat in 1437. Hans von Baisen, a servant of the grand master of the Teutonic Order, was so enamoured by tales of the king of Portugal's capture of Ceuta from the 'Saracens' in 1415 that he journeyed there himself soon after, joining the city's guard, all of whom benefited from Martin V's award of a crusade indulgence in 1418 to any who garrisoned and defended the city. As well as making good his crusading vow, Baisen also earned a knighthood in the field when he killed a Moor in single combat while on patrol about 6 miles outside of Ceuta's walls. Baisen's career suggests that there was less glory to be had in fighting in Prussia and Lithuania now that the foes were Christian, and perhaps that there were also easier pickings to be had elsewhere, fighting weaker foes, in warmer and more exotic climes, and with the safety of a stout citadel held by the Portuguese crown to which to retire come the end of the day.

The tantalizing appeal of experiencing combat against the infidels on this new frontier drew volunteers from across Christendom, but things did not always go to plan. Three Scots from the Hebrides decided at some point in the later 1430s to take the cross and fight the infidels in Ceuta situated, as they later put it in a papal petition, 'on the border of the Saracens', placing themselves at the disposal of the governor of the city upon their arrival. There was a truce, however, between the governor of the city and the local Muslim lords, and after a month of waiting for fighting to resume the trio had run out of money and could stay no longer. Fearing that they had not made good on their promise to fight the Saracens, they visited Rome to ask a papal official whether they had made good on their vow or not, with the resultant petition preserving an account of their journey. What is particularly intriguing about the petition is the admission that the three Scots could understand no other language than their native, presumably Gaelic, tongue, and in the end their supplication took longer to draw up than usual as only four people in Rome could be found who could understand them. Tales of the glories that awaited in Ceuta (or not, in this case, given the truce) travelled across manifold geographic and political borders and crossed linguistic boundaries too. George of Ehingen, as we read above, had poor luck when he went to Rhodes hoping to fight the Turks in the early 1440s, but in 1456 he spent seven months fighting in the environs of Ceuta. Exploits included captaining a section of the city fortifications for three days and defending it against an attack from the king of Fez's men, after which he then finally fulfilled his hope of engaging and killing a 'Turk' in single combat outside Ceuta's walls, earning the fame and renown he craved.

It is no surprise that other Christian princes attempted to dress their forays into the Atlantic (and beyond) in the same crusading armour, and not just in Castile and Aragon. Leaving Columbus and his patrons aside, as well as the Portuguese focus on West Africa, King Christian II of Denmark unsuccessfully applied to Pope Leo X for indulgences to help fund a campaign to take a string of islands on 'the other side of the North Pole', whatever they may have been, and went back (again, unsuccessfully) to the

II. Produced in 1463, the title rubric reads 'Decree of Pius II, Pontifex Maximus, on the waging of war against the Turks', outlining how the pope intended his crusade to be undertaken against the Turks. Of interest are the ships illustrated in the margin, ranging from swift galleys to heavy, round, and square-rigged ocean-going ships, representing the significant naval power required to defeat the Ottomans at sea.

same pope in 1519 to ask for crusade indulgences to support his planned reconquest of Greenland which he alleged had fallen into the hands of heathens. By the early 1500s it was almost inconceivable that Christendom could be expanded unless it was under the aegis of crusade.

Map 5. The Baltic and Central European Region.

CHAPTER 15

Images of the Crusades in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

ELIZABETH SIBERRY

EIGHTEENTH-century historians such as David Hume and Voltaire took a critical view of the crusades and Edward Gibbon wrote in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* that they had 'checked rather than forwarded the maturity of Europe', diverting energies which would have been more profitably employed at home. But the nineteenth century offered more variety of views on the subject.

The writer Alexandre Dumas, whose father took part in Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, described it as the Eighth Crusade, and the accompanying cohort of topographers, artists, and writers stimulated further interest in the 'exotic' east. At the same time, against the background of rapid industrialization, population expansion, and social change, there was a growing nostalgia for the age of chivalry, as a contrast to contemporary reality. Moreover, the crusades offered images and examples of Christian chivalry in action and resonated with those, individuals and countries, new and old, who sought national heroes and exemplars of muscular Christianity in an era of imperial expansion and colonization. This period is therefore rich in images of the events of the crusades and crusaders.

As the nineteenth century progressed, more people travelled to the east and published accounts of their journeys, visiting and describing sites associated with the crusades. Moreover, from 1838 onwards, the Christian powers of Europe began to establish diplomatic and ecclesiastical representation in Jerusalem, reviving medieval rivalries and territorial claims, and by 1861, there were consulates for Britain, France, Sardinia, Prussia, Austria, Spain, Italy, Russia, and the United States. The British Consul from 1846 to 1863, James Finn, and his wife both wrote memoirs of their time in the holy city and described the ceremony in which some visitors were made knights of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre with the alleged sword of Godfrey of Bouillon:

> Only conceive the odd circumstance…solemn vows being made at the Sanctissimo Sepolcro with the formalities of watching, fasting and prayers and the accolade of Godfrey of Bouillon's sword and investiture of his spurs, within earshot of the Muslim

> effendis who are sitting within the porch calmly smoking chibooks or drinking sherbet, in simple unconsciousness of the tenour of the vow and promises thus made.

The sword and spurs can still be seen in the Holy Sepulchre, although their appearance dates them to the thirteenth rather than the late eleventh century.

Various members of European royal families also visited Jerusalem and were taken to see sites associated with the crusades. In 1862, the prince of Wales (later King Edward VII) camped outside the walls of Jerusalem supposedly on the same site as Godfrey of Bouillon during the siege of the city in 1099. He also visited Acre, recalling its siege and the campaign of Richard the Lionheart. Some years later, Edward's sons, Albert and George, made their own visit to the Holy Land and were shown Godfrey's sword and spurs, as well as the battlefield of Hattin.

The American journalist and author, Mark Twain, commented satirically in *The Innocents Abroad* published in 1869:

> No blade in Christendom wields such enchantment as this…It stirs within a man every memory of the holy wars that has been sleeping in his brain for years and peoples his thoughts with mail clad images…It speaks to him of Baldwin and Tancred, and princely Saladin and great Richard the Lionheart.

The firm of Thomas Cook enabled many to travel to the east and in 1876 published a *Tourist Handbook* for Palestine and Syria that covered travel practicalities, as well as the history of the region including the crusades. And there was a market for models of Godfrey's tomb, which had been destroyed in 1808 but could be seen in old engravings. So even those unable to travel would have been able to read the accounts of others and stories of past crusaders seem to have been a standard element of tours of the Holy Land and Syria.

Histories of the Crusades

In 1611, the Huguenot bibliophile, Jacques Bongars published a collection of crusade sources and there were histories of the crusades by for example Thomas Fuller (*Historie of the Holy Warre*; 1639) and Louis Maimbourg (*Histoire des croisades*; 1675–6, translated into English in 1685). The nineteenth century, however, saw a step change in the number of crusade histories published, as well as editions and translations of key sources such Joinville's *Histoire de Saint Louis*. These works were advertised, reviewed, and discussed in the numerous periodicals and magazines that were produced throughout Europe in this period and crusade-related books were purchased for the growing number of public and private libraries in Europe and America. Publishers produced editions that were both affordable and accessible and journal reviews reveal an appetite for discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the crusades and often detailed knowledge of the subject matter and sources. For those fascinated by the age of chivalry, the *Mémoires de l'ancienne chevalerie* (1759) by Jean Baptiste de la Curne de Saint-Palaye was a key source and widely translated. And two volumes of Kenelm

Digby's manual of chivalry, *The Broad Stone of Honour*, published in the 1820s, were titled Godefridus and Tancredus, after heroes of the First Crusade.

In Britain, the young lawyer Charles Mills published a *History of the Crusades* in 1820, followed by a *History of Chivalry* in 1825. And subsequent decades saw a variety of histories of the crusading movement aimed at the adult and children's markets. Articles on the crusades were published in the various editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and distillations of histories also appeared in other popular encyclopaedias. In addition, interested readers had access to works by French and German historians, both in their original language and translation and catalogues of libraries and book sales show that these were purchased by both individuals and institutions. Diaries and letters also provide evidence of books read and shared.

In 1827, Frederick Oakeley, a fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, wrote a prize-winning essay on *The Influence of the Crusades upon the Arts and Literature of Europe* and another essay on the crusades, by Sir Archibald Allison, a Scottish lawyer and historian, was published in the influential Edinburgh based *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1846. These are but two examples showing that readers in Britain had access to a variety of sources and perspectives on the history of the crusades.

Similar examples can be found in France and Germany. In 1798, the University of Gottingen sponsored a prize on the subject of the crusades, which was won by the orientalist Friedrich Wilken. And in 1806, the Académie Française held an essay competition on the subject of the influence of the crusades upon European liberty, civilization, commerce, and industry. The two prize winners were Arnold Heeren, a professor of history at Gottingen and Maxime de Choiseul Daillecourt. The entries were subsequently published and found their way to interested readers elsewhere in Europe such as Charles Mills. And between 1811 and 1822, Joseph Francois Michaud, a French nationalist and royalist, published his *Histoire des croisades*, which celebrated France's role in the crusades. It ran to some nineteen editions and was translated into Russian, English, Italian, German, and Turkish. A special edition published in 1877 included a hundred illustrations by Gustave Doré, and these would have provided a visual as well as textual memory of the events of the crusades. Michaud also produced four volumes of translated sources in his *Bibliothèque des croisades* and a collection of letters from his travels in Syria and Egypt in 1830–1. And of course the monumental *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, including key texts in Latin, French, Greek, Armenian, Syrian, and Arabic, was published by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres between 1841 and 1906.

In Germany, Wilken, now professor of history at Heidelberg, published his seven-volume *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* between 1807 and 1832, and Heinrich von Sybel delivered and subsequently published a series of lectures on the crusades in Munich in 1855. Once again knowledge of such works was not restricted to their country or language of origin. Both were reviewed in British periodicals and Sybel's lectures and his 1841 *History of the First Crusade* were translated into English by Lady Duff Gordon in 1861. The European and American reader therefore had access to a substantial body of works on the crusades that were available in libraries and discussed in popular journals.

1. Gustave Doré, Illustrations for Michaud's history, 1877—*The Road to Jerusalem*.

The Influence of Tasso and Scott

The crusades also inspired numerous artists, composers, and writers, and the most influential authors in shaping people's image of the crusades and crusaders were the sixteenth-century Italian poet Torquato Tasso and the nineteenth-century historical novelist Sir Walter Scott.

Tasso's poem *Gerusalemme liberata (Jerusalem Delivered)* was published in 1581, ten years after the Christian victory over the Ottoman Turks at the battle of Lepanto. It tells the

2. Rinaldo and Armida in panoramic wallpaper by Dufroy and Leroy.

story of the First Crusade, interwoven with subplots involving thwarted love and with exotic characters such as the fierce Circassian warrior Argantes and the enchantress Armida, who seeks to bewitch the crusader knight Rinaldo and the combination of magic, Christian heroism, and the tragic story of the author himself made it highly popular. Before the end of the sixteenth century, the poem had been translated into English, French, and German and seems to have been widely accessible in public and private libraries. There were also a number of illustrated editions.

While the events of *Jerusalem Delivered* are set against the background of the First Crusade and include some of the main protagonists, it is far from being an accurate source for the expedition. For many, however, reading the poem on their travels to the Holy Land or back at home, the dividing line between poetic fiction and crusading fact was rather blurred. In the introduction to his translation of Tasso's poem, published in 1824, Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen, the librarian to the duke of Bedford at Woburn Abbey, wrote of the recently published history of the crusades by Charles Mills:

> Mr. Mills has…portrayed in real colours the nature of these singular expeditions; but who would not willingly continue the illusion which, whether derived from the songs of early minstrels, or the charming tale of Tasso, invests the character of the crusader with I know not what of devotion, generosity and love.

Not all would have shared this analysis, but Tasso seems to have been ubiquitous.

His work also inspired a number of other poets to write about the crusades. In America, Henry Thoreau, better known for the pastoral classic *Walden*, wrote a poem influenced by Tasso entitled *Godfrey of Boulogne*, as a student at Harvard. And the young

Henrietta Prescott's *Poems from Newfoundland* (her father was governor there) published in 1839, included several poems to her literary hero, as well as one entitled 'The March of the Crusaders to Jerusalem'. Tasso was also the main source for *The Crusaders or Jerusalem Delivered*, a melodrama interspersed with songs, marches, and combats, which was performed at the Coburg theatre in London in 1820. For many therefore this would have been the image of the First Crusade imprinted upon their minds and memories, rather than any more sober account of the actual events.

The love story of the crusading knight Rinaldo and Armida also inspired numerous artists from the seventeenth century onwards. In Rome, Friedrich Overbeck and Joseph von Führich, members of the group of German artists known as the Nazarenes, were commissioned to paint a Tasso room at the Cassino Massimo. And scenes from Tasso by the Austrian painter Moritz von Schwind also decorated the bedroom of King Ludwig of Bavaria at Schloss Hohenschwangau. Many others would have been able to see paintings and tapestries inspired by the poem by earlier artists such as Van Dyck, Poussin, Tiepolo, and Delacroix in galleries, grand houses, and palaces throughout Europe. A statue of Rinaldo and Armida was on display at the Great Exhibition in London in 1851 and they were also a popular subject for pottery and porcelain produced by companies such as Meissen, Sevres, and Staffordshire. Scenes from Tasso even inspired themed wallpaper, which was fashionable in nineteenth-century Paris.

3. Image from Tasso room at Hohenschwangau, Bavaria.

Composers such as Brahms, Dvorak, Haydn, and Rossini set Tasso's words to music and there are numerous Tasso-based operas, which would have been known and performed throughout Europe. One did not even have to go to the opera to see scenes from such productions. In the age of the illustrated journal, engravings of operatic scenes would have been widely available.

In a different literary medium, Walter Scott was the most popular and influential historical novelist of the nineteenth century and four of his novels have a crusade theme. In *Ivanhoe*, published in 1819, the hero has returned from the Third Crusade and the same crusade provides the plot for *The Betrothed* and *The Talisman*, published as *Tales of the Crusaders* in 1825. There are also crusade references in several other novels. For example, the Revd Josiah Cargill, a character in *St Ronan's Well*, published in 1823, declares himself much preoccupied with the history of the crusading movement and the novel concludes with a spoof advertisement for a History of the Siege of Ptolomaeis (Acre). A later and less successful work, *Count Robert of Paris*, was also set at the time of the First Crusade. *The Talisman* was particularly influential with its portrayal of the noble Saladin and his fictional meeting with Richard the Lionheart soon came to be regarded as historical fact.

Scott's novels were widely read and shared by all ages and classes. Like Tasso, they can be found in most library catalogues of the period and they were translated into other European languages such as French, German, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish. They similarly inspired numerous artists, authors, and composers. Paintings depicting subjects from Scott's novels were regularly exhibited at the Royal Academy in London and the Royal Scottish Academy in Edinburgh and he also inspired the French artist Delacroix and the Italian artist Francesco Hayez.

While the fictional portrayal of events of the crusades by Tasso and Scott will have shaped for many their images of the crusades, more general interest in the subject is reflected in the choice of subject for annual poetry competitions at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In 1832 and 1840, the subjects chosen for the Cambridge Chancellor's medal were the Taking of Jerusalem on the First Crusade and Richard I in Palestine and at Oxford the Newdigate prize subject in 1828 and 1912 was Richard the Lionheart and another crusader-king, Louis IX, in 1873.

The subject also provided inspiration for those staging popular spectacles and in London the main venue for this was Astley's Amphitheatre. In 1810, Astley's featured a production entitled *The Blood Red Knight*, which ran for 175 nights making a profit of £18,000. The plot concerned the attempts of the Blood Red Knight to seduce Isabella, the wife of his crusader brother Alphonso. In 1835, the subject was *The Siege of Jerusalem*, which mixed fact and fantasy, with Saladin's capture of the holy city, a Grand Asiatic ballet, an encounter between the Leopard knight and the Templar (from Scott's *Talisman*), and a feast in the Muslim camp. The Third Crusade was also the subject of another new production, *Richard and Saladin or The crusaders of Jerusalem* in 1843.

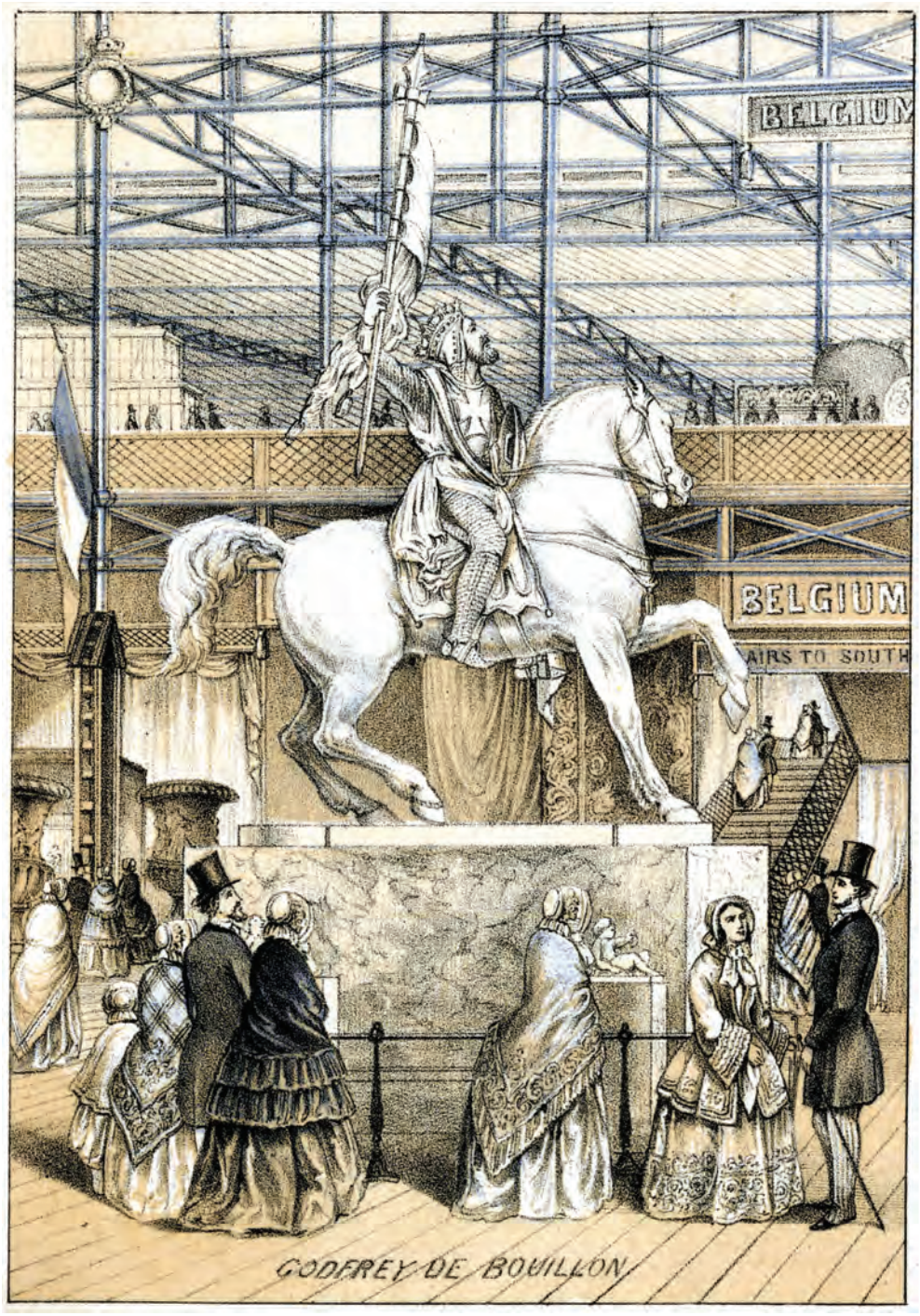
Crusader Heroes and Nationalism

The crusades also appealed to countries looking for national heroes to provide a sense of historical continuity and national pride and this was manifested not just in words but in art and architecture and a growing interest in the physical remains of the crusades in the Levant. In 1826, the Academy of Ghent launched an essay competition on the role of Belgians in the crusades and interest in the subject was given greater stimulus with the creation of Belgium as a nation state in 1830. The new kingdom adopted Godfrey of Bouillon, who had been born in part of its territory in the Ardennes. On 15 August 1848, in a carefully choreographed ceremony attended by King Leopold I and various dignitaries, a large equestrian statue of Godfrey by Eugene Simonis was unveiled in the Place Royale in Brussels. Underlining his importance as a national exemplar, two later friezes on the pedestal depict him at the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 and as the founding lawgiver of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

A plaster copy of the Brussels statue was also the centrepiece of the Belgian display at the Great Exhibition in London in 1851, which had six million visitors and articles in newspapers and engravings in illustrated journals reached an even wider international audience. Histories of Belgium, as well as art commissions, celebrated Godfrey's crusading achievements and reminded readers that their country had provided not only the first ruler of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem but also the first Latin emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin of Flanders.

Godfrey was also 'claimed' as a worthy exemplar by other countries. When the family of Sir Redvers Buller VC commissioned a memorial to him from the influential Church architect, William Caroe, in the parish church of Crediton, in Devon, it included a figure of Godfrey, paired with the prophet, Joshua, probably symbolizing their successful sieges of Jerusalem and Jericho and Buller's relief of Ladysmith in 1900, during the second Boer war. Godfrey can also be seen, paired with St Bernard of Clairvaux, in a stained-glass window in the Harvard Memorial Hall in America, but with the face of Francis Channing Barlow, from the Harvard class of 1855, who rose to the rank of major general during the American Civil War.

In similar vein, Britain celebrated the achievements of Richard the Lionheart. The Italian sculptor Carlo Marochetti created a plaster model of an equestrian statue of Richard for display at the Great Exhibition and there seems to have been some rivalry between Belgium and Britain about the profile of their crusader heroes. Afterwards, funds were raised for Marochetti's sculpture to be cast in bronze, with Queen Victoria and Prince Albert among the contributors. It eventually found its final location in Old Palace Yard, outside the Houses of Parliament but not all approved of the choice of subject and location, with criticism in publications such as the *Illustrated London News*. In subsequent years, however, it became a national symbol, particularly when Richard's sword was damaged during the Second World War. Some argued that the statue should be protected, but others considered that it should remain visible as an inspiration in times of danger and it appeared so damaged in a 1940 propaganda film entitled



4. Engraving of statue of Godfrey of Bouillon at Great Exhibition from the *Illustrated London News,* 10 May 1851.

5. Godfrey of Bouillon and St Bernard depicted in a stained-glass window, in Annenberg Hall which is within the Memorial Hall on the Harvard University campus, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA.

London Can Take It. In 1927 the artist Glyn Philpot also completed a mural for St Stephen's Hall, Westminster, depicting Richard the Lionheart setting off for the Third Crusade against the background of the White Cliffs of Dover.

Richard also inspired a number of poems, novels, and plays of mixed quality by a variety of authors. The defence of Acre in 1799 by Sir Sidney Smith evoked parallels with the Third Crusade and the troubled times of the Napoleonic wars prompted writers to recall past heroes. In 1801, Sir James Bland Burges, a former MP and minister

at the British Foreign Office, published an epic poem, influenced by Tasso, of some 17,000 lines entitled *Richard Coeur de Lion*, which foretold Britain's triumph over France. And in her poem *The Siege of Acre*, Hannah Cowley placed Acre in the pantheon of British victories, along with Agincourt and Blenheim. Twenty years later, in 1822, Eleanor Porden, the first wife of the explorer Sir John Franklin, also wrote of Richard in her *Coeur de Lion or the Third Crusade*, hoping that contemporaries would be inspired by his example:

> For Britain! Not in this thy noon of fame.
> Hast thou a son to noble hearts more dear.
> Than he, the terror of the moslem name
> Who on the deep thy white cross dared to rear
> And spread in Palestine till it became
> The Christian's day star and th'apostate's fear
> Who mix'd with martial deeds the minstrel lyre
> He of the lionheart the dauntless soul of fire.

Richard the Lionheart was also a popular subject for children's books such as George Alfred Henty's *Winning His Spurs*, published in 1882, which used the story of the crusade as a backcloth for a tale of individual heroism and patriotism with a happy ending.

The most striking example of national crusading pride were however five Salles des Croisades, part of a carefully curated Museum of French History at Versailles. Here in the 1830s King Louis Philippe commissioned leading artists to produce over a hundred paintings; an illustrated history of French participation in the crusades which was accessible to a wide audience, albeit with some editing, omitting defeats such as the battle of Hattin in 1187. Artists involved included Eugène Delacroix, whose *Entry of the Crusaders into Constantinople* on the Fourth Crusade is now in The Louvre. The rooms were also decorated with the coats of arms of families who claimed descent from a crusader. When they opened in 1840, over 300 families were represented but others protested that they should also be included and this created a market for charters (later shown to be forgeries) to prove their case. The museum became a popular destination for both Parisians and visitors to the capital, including Queen Victoria.

The link made between the medieval crusades and contemporary events was deliberate. In 1830, Charles X sent an expedition to conquer Algeria and Louis Philippe continued the campaign, which involved all his five sons. The historian Michaud, who had encountered the French army at Toulon, en route for North Africa, saw this as another crusade and two rooms at Versailles were devoted to episodes in the Algerian campaign. Horace Vernet's painting *Second Expedition to Constantine: The Assault on Constantine, 13 October 1837*, inspired an observer to write:

> We there find again, after an interval of five hundred years, the French nation fertilizing with its blood the burning plains studded with the tents of Islam. These are the heirs of Charles Martel, Godfrey de Bouillon, Robert Guiscard and Philip Augustus, resuming the unfinished labours of their ancestors. Missionaries and warriors, they every day extend the boundaries of Christendom.

And soldiers fighting in Algiers were described as 'sons' of Saint Louis. This 'political' use of the past continued with Napoleon III's depiction of his 1860 expedition to the Levant: 'You leave for Syria…to that distant land, rich in great memories…you will prove ourselves to be worthy descendants of those heroes who had gloriously carried the banner of Christ to those (same) lands.' The material culture of the crusades was also celebrated. The Museum of French Monuments in Paris displayed a model of Crac des Chevaliers and the castle itself was acquired and subsequently restored by the French nation in 1934; described by the leading expert on Frankish military architecture, Paul Deschamps, as 'a magnificent first page in the first chapter of French colonial history'.

More generally, the crusader-king, Louis IX, was revered as an ideal Christian monarch and warrior saint. Between 1879 and 1896, the French Baron de Piellat founded the Hospital of St Louis in Jerusalem and commemorated the crusading king and his army in paintings on its walls. And in Britain Louis was the subject of a number of biographies, novels, and poems and features in memorial stained-glass windows, particularly by designers who were members of the Arts and Crafts movement.

For Germany the obvious crusade hero was Frederick Barbarossa, depicted as an ideal ruler by historians such as von Sybel, and in the 1870s, Bismarck was persuaded to fund unsuccessful attempts to find what was alleged to be Barbarossa's tomb in Tyre. The German emperor's victory at Konya in 1190 was among the scenes from German history chosen to decorate the Imperial Hall at the Kaiserplatz in Goslar and painted by the artist Hermann Wislicenus in 1879–97. Frederick was also the subject of a series of frescoes at Heltorf Castle, outside Düsseldorf, depicting the taking of Konya (Iconium), the battle itself, and the death of Barbarossa. The British journal *The Athenaeum* published an article about the frescoes, so such evocations of national history were not just familiar to a local audience.

When Kaiser Wilhelm II visited Jerusalem in October 1898, he was keen to portray himself as the heir of crusaders and he entered the city (like Emperor Frederick II) on horseback, resplendent in a dazzling white field marshal's uniform, with a helmet surmounted by a golden imperial eagle. Wilhelm and his wife, Empress Augusta, were also depicted, flanked by eight crusader-kings, on the vault of the Ascension chapel of the German hospice, which they had sponsored on Mount of Olives. In Damascus, the Kaiser visited Saladin's tomb, where the empress placed a bronze gilt laurel wreath with iconography which made it clear which emperor history should regard as the most significant. Fate determined otherwise and the wreath was brought back to London by T.E. Lawrence and is now on display in the Imperial War Museum in London. The Kaiser's grand tour also attracted criticism from accompanying journalists, one of whom described him as 'posturing as a crusader king'.

Lawrence was himself very conscious of the achievements of the crusaders, writing his undergraduate thesis on crusader castles and he claimed, or was claimed by one of his biographers Lowell Thomas, to have had a crusade ancestor himself, namely Sir Robert Lawrence, who was reputed to have accompanied Richard at the siege of Acre.

6. Hermann Wislicenus, *The battle of Iconium*, Imperial Palace, Goslar, Germany.

There are other less dramatic examples of the use of crusade history to celebrate national pride. In Norway, King Sigurd, who had set out for the Latin East in 1107 and assisted Baldwin I in the siege of Sidon, inspired a play with music composed by Edvard Grieg. This was subsequently revised as an orchestral suite and played in front of the newly crowned king of Norway, Haakon, in Oslo in 1905. In Italy, in 1826, Tomasso Grossi published a poem *I Lombardi alla prima crociata*, which drawing again on Tasso, recalled the participation of the Lombards at the siege of Antioch and capture of Jerusalem and had the largest print run of any Italian literary work, inspiring artists such as Francesco Hayez, who provided engravings for the first edition. Hayez also exhibited three paintings depicting scenes from the First Crusade at the salon of the Accademia di Brera in Milan in the mid-1830s and the Italian nationalist and politician Guiseppe Mazzini wrote in his *Duties of Man:* 'The cry which has resounded in all great…revolutions, the "God wills it" of the crusades, alone will have the power to move…to action, to give courage to the timid'. Grossi's work also inspired Verdi to write his opera *I Lombardi*, which was first performed in Milan in 1843 and in time came to be seen as another inspiration for Italian nationalism. By 1847, there were performances of the opera in London, St Petersburg, Berlin, Bucharest, and New York. Widely reviewed in contemporary journals, such performances combined the spectacular with the exoticism of the east, as well as patriotism and sacrifice in a noble cause. A review of the first London performance in May 1846, published in the *Illustrated London News* declared:

7. Emperor Wilhelm and Empress Augusta at the dedication of the German Church of the Redeemer in Jerusalem (1898).

> We are introduced to the noble knights and dames of that age, with their high and chivalric qualities, their fervent piety and sincere though sometimes mistaken zeal; then led to the East amidst Christian warriors, Musselmen, hermits etcetera and to the most deeply interesting scenes in the world—the music constantly changing its character.

8. Francesco Hayez, *Crusaders Thirsting near Jerusalem*, Palazzo reale, Turin.

Verdi also produced a French version, *Jerusalem*, which was performed at the Tuileries in Paris, before Louis Philippe, who made Verdi a Chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur. The use of crusade imagery and language has been described as 'portable' and 'trans-national' and additional examples could be quoted from other countries such as Ethiopia, Spain, and Russia. There was therefore something for many nations, new and old, to draw on and adapt for their own contemporary purposes.

Crusading Ancestors

While the desire to be included in the Salles des Croisades at Versailles is perhaps the most extreme example of crusade ancestor competition, there was considerable interest elsewhere in tracing an ancestor who had participated in the crusades. In Britain, a number of families, such as the Walpole Earls of Orford and Ward Viscounts Bangor, associate the heraldic symbol of a Saracen's head with participation in the crusades and other crusade-related symbols include the crescent, the cross, and star, as well as a number of exotic animals and birds.

These attributions were discussed in some detail in nineteenth-century histories of heraldry. In his study entitled *The Curiosities of Heraldry*, published in 1845, Mark Lower wrote:

> The crusades are admitted by all modern writers to have given shape to heraldry. And although we cannot give credit to many of the traditions relating to the acquisition of armorial bearing by valorous knights on the plains of Palestine, yet there is no doubt that many of our commonest charges, such as the crescent, the escallop shell…are derived from these chivalrous scenes.

Awards of arms by Richard the Lionheart said to reflect individual acts of courage and heroism during the Third Crusade were particularly popular and can be found in family and county histories of the period. Lower added:

> Some…may be correct in the incidents, though incorrect in point of time; and doubtless, in many cases, the arms have been assumed in rather modern times, to commemorate the exploits of ancestors of a much earlier period; the highly prized family tradition having been confided to the safer custody of the emblazoned shield.

But, even if such claims are contradicted by the facts of heraldic history, good stories acquire a life of their own. Crusade ancestors were included with pride in illustrated pedigrees and heraldic symbols formed part of the interior design of nineteenth- and twentieth-century medievalist buildings and restorations.

Britain also had its own lists of crusaders. Drawing on family traditions and some primary sources, Wiffen published a list of English crusaders as a preface to his translation of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* and was also able to trace his ducal patron's family back to Roger of Barneville, who had fought and died courageously at the siege of Antioch in the First Crusade. Some twenty-five years later, in 1850, James Cruikshank Dansey published his *English Crusaders containing an account of all the English knights who formed part of the expeditions for the recovery of the Holy Land*. Illustrated by 300 coats of arms and various embellishments, it is a splendid production, with over 1,000 names and accompanying stories and Dansey encouraged readers to send him any further information about their ancestors who had taken part in the crusades. He concluded by drawing a link between past crusading and his own time:

> Having dwelt on the deeds of noble and heroic men…and how much they preferred glory to either pleasure or safety, their descendants may so far esteem their gallant ancestors as to approach them in all honourable endeavours and leaving mistaken enthusiasm to past ages, be ever found zealous defenders of the true faith.

The erroneous belief, which still persists today, that an effigy of a knight with crossed legs signified that he had been on crusade meant that many churches and villages in Britain laid claim to a crusader and so-called crusader's tombs inspired poems by writers such as Wordsworth and Tennyson. In his 1886 poem *Locksley Hall Sixty Years After*, Tennyson wrote of the tomb of a crusader:

> Yonder in that chapel, slowly sinking now into the ground
> Lies the warrior, my forefather, with his feet upon the hound.
> Cross'd for once he sail'd the sea to crush the Moslem in his pride.
> Yet how often I and Amy in the mouldering aisle have stood,
> Gazing for one pensive moment on that founder of our blood.

Tennyson's inspiration seems to have been the effigy of John de Harrington at Harrington church, near the Tennyson family home in Somersby, Lincolnshire, but he would also have known a similar effigy at Hatton Holgate church, where the rector, Canon Thomas Rawnsley, was a family friend. Moreover his uncle, Charles, played a

9. James Cruikshank Dansey, *The English Crusaders, containing an account of all the English knights who formed part of the expeditions for the recovery of the Holy Land* (1850), illuminated page introducing the Third Crusade section.

part in an attempt to revive the Order of the Knights Templar in England in the 1820s and built his own medieval-style castle at Bayons Manor in Lincolnshire.

Characters in novels were often described telling tales of their crusading ancestors and decorating their homes with relics of crusading. In Benjamin Disraeli's novel

Tancred subtitled *The New Crusader*, published in 1845, the hero's family seat, Bellamont, has a gallery that celebrates the family's participation in the crusades, with a series of Gobelin tapestries. The popularity of such allusions in turn inspired satirists and in one of his burlesques, the novelist William Makepeace Thackeray created a character who managed to fight with Richard at Ascalon; Louis at Damietta and the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent at Rhodes. Thackeray had himself visited Jerusalem, Syria, Malta, and Rhodes and wrote a predictably irreverent account of his travels in *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* published in 1846. As a member of the London Library, he had also read the accounts of the expeditions by Mills and Michaud.

Crusade-Inspired Art

Both the written word and physical artefacts linked with the crusades inspired artists such as William Etty, whose painting *The Warrior Arming or Godfrey of Bouillon,* now in the collection of the Manchester City gallery was exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1835. Here Etty depicts Godfrey in armour with a crimson plumed helmet and wearing a gold crucifix and he seems to have taken as his authority a physical description of Godfrey which had appeared in Thomas Keightley's *History of the Crusades*

10. William Etty, *The Warrior Arming* (1833–4), Manchester City Gallery.

published in 1834: 'To valour Godfrey joined piety, chastity, moderation, mildness and generosity. His exterior was also agreeable; his features were handsome, his hair a light brown, his person tall, and he was equally strong and active in his limbs.' Etty himself had a collection of armour and he recorded visiting the church at Howden in Yorkshire with his brother and seeing 'the tomb of a crusader which I sketched in chainmail'.

More generally, the idea of a crusader leaving the certainties of home and country to fight for his faith inspired many artists and writers, combining elements of romanticism, orientalism, and medievalism. In Germany, Karl Lessing's 1836 *The Return of the Crusader*, now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn, depicted a white-haired knight on horseback returning from a crusade and the same figure appears in three versions of Lessing's *The Crusader's Vigil in the Desert*. Lessing's uncle, Gottfried, was the author of the 1779 play *Nathan der Weise*, set against the background of the Third Crusade and Karl had apparently read an 1826 poem, *Kreuzfahrers Enzug* by Karl Immermann, who in turn was heavily influenced by Walter Scott, so one can unpick some of his artistic influences and sources.

Scenes of crusaders leaving home and then returning after a long absence also inspired a number of artists in Britain. The Pre-Raphaelite painter John Everett Millais produced two drawings entitled *The Crusader's Departure* and *The Crusader's Return*, as well as at least one oil painting on this theme and in his *Return from a Long Crusade*, fellow artist William Bell Scott depicted a rather wild looking crusader, in pilgrim dress, who receives a wary welcome from his wife and son (the latter hiding behind his mother). The *Illustrated London News* described the work as a 'representation of the return, after long absence, of a crusader, who, half knight, half palmer, presents an appearance so grotesque as to be scarcely recognized by his astonished wife'. Writers almost forgotten today but very popular in the nineteenth century, such as Felicia Hemans and Letitia Landon produced poems on this subject and there were imaginative variations depending on what had happened back home during the crusader's absence.

This was of course also the plot of Scott's novel *The Betrothed* published in 1825. In his Introduction, Scott wrote:

> It was no unusual thing for a crusader, returning from his long toils of war and pilgrimage, to find his family augmented by some young offshoot, of whom the deserted matron could give no very accurate account, or perhaps to find the marriage-bed filled, and that, instead of becoming nurse to an old man, his household dame had preferred being the lady love of a young one. Numerous are the stories of this kind told in different parts of Europe; and the returned knight or baron, according to his temper, sat down good-naturedly, contented with the account which his lady gave of a doubtful matter, or called in blood and fire to vindicate his honour, which, after all, had been endangered chiefly by forsaking his household gods to seek adventures in Palestine.

The fate of the abandoned crusader's wife or sister was also the subject of operas by Verdi, Schubert, and Rossini and a number of songs.

Later 'Crusades'

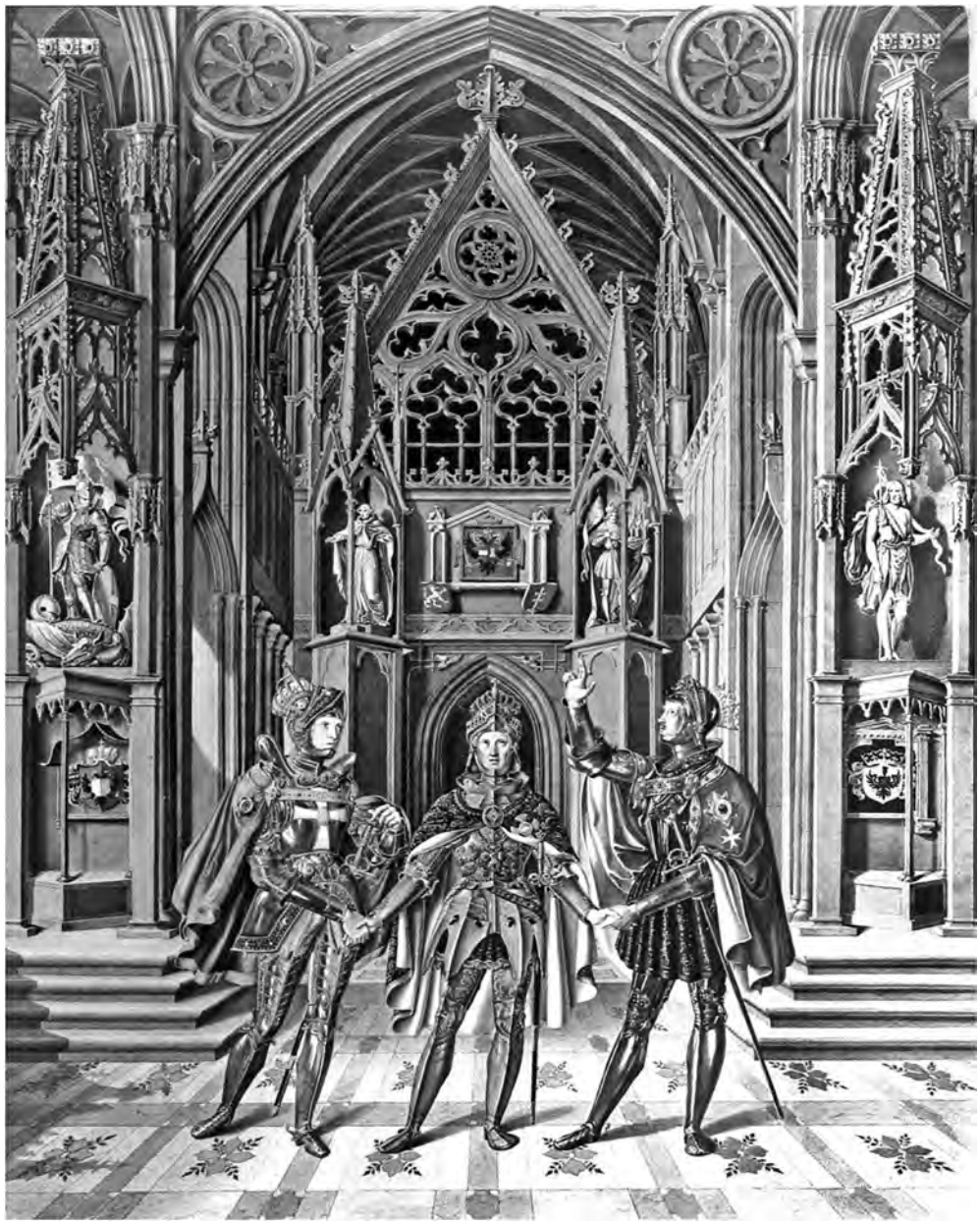
Mention has already been made of the use of the language of crusading to promote France's Algerian campaign in the 1830s and there are numerous other examples of this throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Attempts have been made recently to categorize such expeditions by motivation and leadership but while, as Adam Knobler notes, 'there is a certain fuzziness in these paradigms', the continuing use of medieval crusading as a quarry of ideas and inspiration is clear.

The defence of Acre in 1799 was celebrated in Britain as a continuation of the crusades and Eyles Irwin, a former employee of the East India Company, who had travelled in Egypt, wrote several pamphlets about Napoleon's campaign in which it was described as the French crusade. In November 1840, the British navy, under the command of Commodore Charles Napier, had recaptured Beirut and Acre from rebel Turks and the poet Walter Savage Landor compared this victory with the medieval siege of Acre. He proudly declared 'such valiant deeds…And by whom were they all achieved? By Britons one and all'.

Against this background, in 1841, Sir William Hillary, a driving force behind what became the Royal National Lifeboat Institution, published a pamphlet entitled *Suggestions for the Christian Occupation of the Holy Land as a Sovereign State by the Order of St John of Jerusalem*. Copies were sent to the Duke of Wellington and Lord Palmerston and various newspapers in Britain and Germany. In the end, nothing came of the scheme but it demonstrates again that the concept of crusading remained alive in some quarters.

During the Napoleonic wars in Europe, parallels were also drawn with past crusades and in 1815, the artist Heinrich Oliver depicted Tsar Alexander I, Emperor Francis II of Austria, and King Frederick William of Prussia as crusaders, in a painting entitled *The Holy Alliance*, now in the gallery at Dessau. In the 1820s, the Greek War of Independence seeking freedom from the Ottoman Empire similarly evoked memories of the crusades. In his novel, *Armance*, written in 1826, the French author Stendhal's hero Octave de Malivert, whose ancestor had been a member of the Second Crusade, decides to fight for the Greeks and other French authors urged 'descendants of our famous crusaders (to) join themselves to the indignant crowd'. And in *Les orientales*, Victor Hugo called for a new Louis IX to save the Greeks. Lord Byron of course was among the Britons who answered the call to arms and in North Wales, the Flintshire poet John Blackwell, who used the *nom de plume* Alun, wrote an *Ode* in Welsh on the recent victories of the Greeks over the Turks with 'a great parade of new crusaders'.

The reality of nineteenth-century politics meant that it was not always a clear choice between Christians and Muslim opponents and in the Crimean War of 1853–6, Britain, France, and Turkey joined forces against Russia. Even so, Disraeli compared it to 'those famous deeds of the crusades' and it was no coincidence that the play *The*



11. Heinrich Oliver, *The Holy Alliance* (1815), Dessau Art Gallery.

World's War performed in London in April 1854 had as its subject Richard the Lionheart and the Third Crusade. With a renewed focus on the security and control of the holy places, the subject selected for the Newdigate poetry competition at Oxford in 1855 was *The Mosque Rising in the Place of the Temple of Solomon*. One candidate for the prize was the young Oxford undergraduate William Morris, later

of course a key figure in the Arts and Crafts movement, who drew on the history of the crusades, using both original sources and the ever popular Tasso. The subjects for the Latin and English verse prizes at Cambridge that year also reflected current preoccupations in the east and a poem published in France in 1858 was entitled *La croisade de Sebastopol*.

In 1860, the popular British periodical the *Saturday Review* published an article entitled *Modern Crusades*, referencing not only Napoleon III's intervention in the Lebanon but also the Spanish attempt to conquer Morocco and the crusade to protect the papal state, which drew volunteers (Zouaves) from throughout Europe. Participants in the latter, such as Henri de Cathelineau, called themselves crusaders and the Song of the English Zouaves declared:

> Once more her sons arm for the fight,
> With the cross on their breasts, to do battle
> For God, the holy church and the right.

This use of crusade language attracted some criticism, but it remained part of contemporary vocabulary. Following the Turkish suppression of an insurrection in Bulgaria in 1876 and atrocities committed against Christians, both sides drew on crusade imagery and language. For those who denounced the Turkish action, the response required a new crusade and the journalist William Thomas Stead compared himself to Peter the Hermit. But not all accepted this crusade parallel. The Oxford theologian Benjamin Jowett criticized what he called this sham crusade noting: 'Bishops of the church have not hesitated to follow the example of Peter the Hermit, an example which resulted immediately in the violent deaths of some two million of men'. And the poet Algernon Swinburne published a pamphlet entitled *Note of an English Republican on the Muscovite Crusade*, in which he protested against the idea of a crusade, which had Tsar Alexander of Russia for its Godfrey of Bouillon and Thomas Carlyle for its Peter the Hermit. Swinburne also composed a ballad parodying John Bright, and William Gladstone as Sir Bright de Brummagem, a Knight Templar and Sir William the Wise.

The events in Bulgaria and the political response also inspired Alfred Edwards from Crediton in Devon to write a poem about the medieval crusades and in particular Richard the Lionheart. Edwards noted 'the cross and the crescent are again in mortal antagonism' but he did not advocate an alliance to support either the Russians or the Turks, rather for England to 'resume her proper position as the true protectress of persecuted Christians and champion of Religious Liberty'. For some, there were parallels to be made between the medieval crusaders and those engaged in modern Christian missionary work and *The Last Crusade*, a poem by Alfred Hayes, a clergyman in London, explicitly linked Saint Louis's crusade with contemporary missions in Africa; 'not for the Holy Sepulchre contend but for its holier occupant'. In the late 1880s and 1890s, the French Catholic archbishop of Algiers, Charles-Martial-Allemand Lavigerie, who founded a new military order, also used crusade language to describe his anti-slavery campaign. General Gordon, the hero of Khartoum, was portrayed as

the exemplar of muscular Christianity and one biographer wrote: 'the old symbols of the Holy War, of the ceaseless Crusade, wake up a new life through this man who was so essentially a soldier, and so essentially a Christian'.

Once again, the crusades proved fertile territory for those seeking analogies and justification for contemporary causes. Across the Atlantic, the American jurist Oliver Wendell Holmes was familiar with Joinville's history and wrote in 1864, referring to the American Civil War: 'We need all the examples of Christian chivalry to help bind our rebellious desires to steadfastness in the Christian crusade of the nineteenth century'. And the crusades were again drawn upon to commemorate those British soldiers who had fallen in the Boer War in South Africa, with Richard the Lionheart and Louis IX featuring in stained-glass windows in Exeter, Gloucester, and Lichfield cathedrals and St Mary's church, Nottingham.

The use of crusade parallels and language was most marked however during and after the First World War relating to the campaigns in France, Flanders, the Dardanelles, and especially Palestine. In Britain, Anglican clergymen such as Basil Bourchier, vicar of St Jude's in Hampstead, declared that the Dardanelles campaign was:

> in a very real sense, the latest of the crusades. Should Constantinople fall it will surely be the greatest Christian victory that has occurred for hundreds of years…A vision arises before the mind of Byzantium once again a Christian city; St Sophia once again the home of Christian worship, and, who knows, once again the Holy Land rescued from the defiling grip of the infidel.

David Lloyd George also referred to the war as a 'great crusade' in a speech to his constituents in 1916 and a collection of his speeches between 1915 and 1918 was subsequently published under the title *The Great Crusade*.

This was not just the rhetoric of preachers and politicians. Articles and letters published in newspapers drew parallels with the medieval crusades and those fighting at the front and a correspondent wrote in the *Daily Mail* in February 1915: 'The civilized nations of Europe have gone out on a new and greater crusade…The spiritual call of their Crusade is greater than the call of the medieval Crusade, for the Teuton has defiled the Cross more than ever the Saracen defiled it.' Some of those fighting at the front also saw themselves as modern crusaders. In July 1915, Edward Lloyd-Jones, the son of a Presbyterian minister from Llandinam, Montgomeryshire, in Wales wrote to his mother:

> We are en route for the Near East, future actors in the drama which opened so many centuries ago, and whose plot has ever since been coloured by bloodshed and rapine. Our destiny is the Dardanelles. We are the last of the crusaders, adventurous spirits called forth to release the East from the thraldom of the Turk.

He died a month later at Suvla Bay.

The parallel was seen as particularly apposite for those fighting in Palestine, where soldiers saw themselves as following in the footsteps of the medieval crusaders and particularly those who fought with Richard the Lionheart on the Third Crusade. Indeed

some such as Major Guy Dawnay, a member of Allenby's headquarters staff, claimed ancestors who had been present at the siege of Acre. And, of course, a cartoon in *Punch* on 19 December 1917, ten days after Allenby had captured Jerusalem, depicted Richard I overlooking Jerusalem with the caption 'My dream comes true'. Alun Prys-Jones, who had been at Oxford with T.E. Lawrence, was unable to serve in the army because of ill-health but wrote of the capture of Jerusalem:

> Knights of Britain overseas, riding ever riding
> From Gaza unto Olivet, though centuries have flown:
> Towers of Jerusalem-there is an end to biding
> For Lion-Heart has come again to claim you for his own.

Such parallelism was not without its problems and contradictions. The British government had issued the following D Notice to the press in November 1917:

> The attention of the Press is again drawn to the undesirability of publishing any article, paragraph or picture suggesting that military operations against Turkey are in any sense a Holy war, a modern crusade, or have anything whatever to do with religious questions. The British Empire is said to contain a hundred million Mohammedan subjects of the king and it is obviously mischievous to suggest that our quarrel with Turkey is one between Christianity and Islam.

But at the same time, a government propaganda film in March 1918 was titled *The New Crusaders; With the British Forces on the Palestine Front* and another member of Allenby's staff, Harry Pirie-Gordon, seems to have seen his formal account of the campaign as a continuation of the medieval chronicles of the crusades.

After the end of the war, those writing their personal accounts of the Palestine campaign drew more parallels with the crusades. In *With Allenby's Crusaders* published in 1923, John More, a captain in the Royal Welch Fusiliers, concluded that 'the great crusade was at last ended'. Moreover this was not just a British response. Soldiers from Australia and New Zealand had fought and died both in the Dardanelles and Palestine and Joseph Bowes published *The Aussie Crusaders* subtitled *With Allenby in Palestine* in 1920. The sense of fighting in a holy war can also be found in German sources, with postcards depicting crusaders and verses such as 'with God we shall do valiantly'.

The scale of loss and the desire to commemorate those who had died and make it clear that they had fought in a noble cause also influenced the choice of subject for war memorials in churches (of all Christian denominations), towns, and schools. In Paisley in Scotland, the town commemorated its dead with a striking sculpture of a mail-clad knight flanked by soldiers and entitled *Spirit of the Crusaders* and Winchester School chose a cloister with a central stone pillar supporting two crusaders, one facing east and one west. The headmaster Dr Montague Rendall wrote: 'The stone crusaders stand erect. All around the walls are the symbols of great countries which for the England of King Richard and the France of Saint Louis did not exist; countries which came crusading side by side with our own crusaders against the Paynim of the modern

age.' In Bedford, the town selected the notable sculptor Charles Jagger to design their civic memorial, with a resulting figure of Justice, clad in Crusader's armour, with a soldier's cloak and hands crossed on a sword.

For cathedrals and parish churches throughout Britain, however, the choice of a memorial was more often a stained-glass window. Some selected Richard the Lionheart, reflecting an individual's service in Palestine, but he also featured with Saints Michael and George and other figures from British history such as King Alfred, commemorating the fallen of local regiments. This set the individual or group of parishioners in a noble tradition of Christian sacrifice and courage under arms. An example of this is the window at Ardsley in Yorkshire by the London firm James Powell. According to a press report of the unveiling in 1921, St Michael depicted the victory of good over evil; Alfred the originator of the first permanent army and navy and Richard as 'leader of the allies in the war against the Turks to free Jerusalem'. James Powell also designed a similar window for Highworth in Wiltshire.

The career and life of Louis IX of France was also well known in Britain and Ireland from those who had read Joinville's biography and he was chosen by some designers as an example of Christian sacrifice and courage, particularly appropriate for those who had died on the battlefields of France. At Radley College in Oxfordshire, a window in the school chapel paired Louis with more modern military heroes—Field Marshal Roberts, who fought in India, Afghanistan, and South Africa, and General Gordon. One can also find memorial windows depicting Godfrey of Bouillon and Peter the Hermit.

The language of crusading was not restricted to Europe and the British Empire. In America, the collection *Songs from the Trenches* published in 1918 included poems entitled 'The Crusader' and 'The Modern Crusader' and the leaders of several crusades are evoked by William Carter in his epic poem *The Gates of Janus:*

> Ah, fated Richard of the Lionheart!
> Ah! Barbarossa, who with him didst start!
> And Peter, Godfrey, Baldwin, Louis-Saint
> How slight were your crusades, for Christian plaint…
> Now, here, brave men, in less than one short year,
> Have won all that which is to the world most dear.

More famously, the poster for the 1918 documentary film about the American soldiers in France, entitled *Pershing's Crusaders*, showed the general marching in step with a band of mounted crusaders.

The reference back to the era of the crusades did not end with the events and commemoration of the First World War. This desire to make sense of all that had happened and its impact on British society also inspired the foundation of the Most Noble Order of Crusaders in 1921. It consisted mainly of ex-servicemen who saw themselves as an order of chivalry echoing medieval predecessors and with the purpose of serving society and doing charitable works: 'It was resolved to initiate a

12. Drawing for window at Ardsley, Yorkshire, England, by James Powell.

movement that, by reason of its unrelenting battle for an ideal, could be called a crusade in the most literal sense of the word. So the Most Noble Order of Crusaders—the Tenth Crusade—was born.' The society's journal was entitled *The Tenth Crusade* and included articles about the history of the crusades 'so that we may possess the

substance as well as the mere name'. In 1926, members of the Order of St John, who took part in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Cyprus, Malta, and Rhodes, were also described in some newspaper articles as latter-day crusaders.

The way in which the crusades remained a source of ideas for writers is illustrated by the American Willa Cather's novel *The Professor's House*, published in 1925. Her professor, an expert on the conquistadores, is named Godfrey St Peter, inspired by two figures from the First Crusade and a scene recalls the alleged meeting between Richard the Lionheart and Saladin.

Not surprisingly, both sides drew analogies with the crusades during the Spanish Civil War. In a speech given in July 1936, Franco declared 'we are in a war that is resembling more and more the character of a crusade' and members of the International Brigade were similarly hailed as 'crusaders for freedom'. Jason Gurney, a London sculptor who joined the brigade believed 'the crusade was against the Fascists, who were the Saracens of our generation'. And in his novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, the American writer Ernest Hemingway wrote of the International Brigade headquarters in Madrid:

> You felt that you were taking part in a crusade. That was the only word for it although it was a word that had been so worn and abused that it no longer gave its true meaning. You felt, in spite of all the bureaucracy and inefficiency and party strife something that was like the feeling you expected to have and did not have when you made your first communion.

Such imagery continued to be used, albeit with much less frequency, during the Second World War, with both wartime prime ministers referring to the war as a crusade, as did their Commonwealth counterparts. In early 1940, Cyril Allington, headmaster of Eton and then dean of Durham, published a thirty-eight-page pamphlet entitled *The Last Crusade* seeking to mobilize support for the war as a worthy and holy cause and General Eisenhower's Order for D-Day on 6 June 1944 stated: 'Soldiers and sailors and airmen of the allied expeditionary forces, you are about to embark on a great crusade'. Eisenhower's account of the campaign published in 1948 was similarly entitled *The Great Crusade* and the same title was chosen for a more recent history of the war published by the American historian Wilmott in 1989. The German Stefan Heym, who fled the Nazis in 1933, also published a novel, *The Crusaders*, in 1950, describing the war as 'a necessary and holy crusade' and it was no accident that in his novel *Men at Arms* (part of the *Sword of Honour* trilogy) Evelyn Waugh has Guy Crouchback visiting the tomb of his ancestor Sir Roger Waybroke, who died en route to the Second Crusade, before his own departure for the front.

Conclusion

Crusade language and imagery have continued to be used throughout the latter part of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, notably in the aftermath of the attacks in the United States in September 2001. They have also been appropriated by a range of

far-right organizations and individuals, such as the Norwegian terrorist, Anders Brevik. The focus of this chapter, however, has been the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and these provided particularly fertile ground for historians, essayists, artists, writers, and composers. The crusades became a portable and very adaptable source base for nations (new and old; European and non-European), communities and families, combining the romanticism of the medieval knight and hero with courage and successful territorial conquest in a noble cause, set against the background of the exotic east. The rapid growth of printing and publishing also encouraged discussion and debate, although the way in which the crusades and crusaders were remembered and represented did not always pay much attention to the facts readily available in published sources and histories. Indeed crusade analogies were sometimes used even when Christian armies were in alliance with their Muslim counterparts. Crusader medievalism, the study of the memory and legacy of the crusades, is still a developing subject and, as can be seen from this chapter, draws on a rich vein of sources and imagery illuminating how the crusades have been received by past generations and up to the present day.

GLOSSARY

al-Andalus those portions of the Iberian Peninsula governed by Muslim states
Ashlar large blocks of masonry
Basilica rectangular church with colonnaded aisles
Beylik small Turkish emirate
Chansons de geste narrative poems in monorhymed or assonanced verses
Glacis an artificial slope as part of a fortification
Indulgence Remission of sin given by the Church to participants in crusades
Isma'ilism the second-largest sect within Shi'ism
Jihad the Islamic concept of struggle against evil. Conceived as both internal (against one's sinfulness) and external (armed conflict with Islam's enemies)
Mamluk a soldier of slave or servile origin who, once manumitted and converted to Islam, formed the backbone of most medieval Islamic standing armies; a corps of such troops seized power in Egypt and ruled 1250–amlu
Melkites Greek Orthodox Christians living under Islamic rule
Nizaris a small subsect within Isma'ilism; known derogatorily by contemporaries as the 'assassins'
Outremer A collective term for the kingdom of Jerusalem and other crusader states
Passagium (plural: passagia) contemporary term for a crusading expedition
Quadriburgium (plural: quadriburgia) castle with projecting towers at the corners
Rus' ancestors of modern Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarussians
Rusticated Masonry shaped in large blocks with a roughened surface
Shi'ism the second-largest sectarian identity in Islam, oriented towards devotion to the example of the Prophet Muhammad and to the family and teachings of his cousin, Ali, and his descendants
Spur castle fortification on a mountain spur between two converging valleys
Sunnism the mainstream sectarian identity of most medieval Muslims, oriented towards the consensus of the community and the example of the Prophet Muhammad
Turcopole light cavalry archer

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